Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-228
Monday
28 November 1988

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FBIS-SOV-88-228 *28 November 1988*

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Pact, NATO Representatives Meet in Vienna

LD2811112388 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna November 28 TASS—A regular meeting of Warsaw Treaty and NATO representatives took place here today within the ongoing consultations to draw up a mandate for future negotiations on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. The sides discussed in detail the question of what geographical zone should be covered by the future negotiations. The Soviet delegation advanced several additional ideas, aimed at achieving a mutually-acceptable accord on that section of the mandate.

Greenland Radar 'Violates ABM Treaty'

PM2511124188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[Report by V. Starodubov: "Establishment in Northwest Greenland About Which Washington Would Prefer To Keep Quiet"]

[Text] The island of Greenland is a self-governing territory of the Kingdom of Denmark. Back in 1823 under the so-called "Monroe doctrine," the island was included in the "sphere of U.S. interests." In 1968 the United States even wanted to "buy" it. Finally, under 1941 and 1951 agreements with Denmark, the United States achieved the right to use the territory of Greenland for its military purposes. In particular, in the little spot of Thule, in the northwest of the island, a large-scale U.S. air base was created, which became notorious after 21 January 1968, when four hydrogen bombs sank 500 meters offshore as the result of an accident involving a B-52 strategic bomber. Thule's notoriety increased even more after that region became the site of the United States' violation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems (the ABM Treaty) concluded in 1972.

In the early sixties a large-scale U.S. military establishment—a post of the "ballistic missile early warning system" (BMEWS)—was constructed and began to operate in Thule. The post consisted of several radar stations with four large antennae 122 meters wide and 50 meters high and one antenna enclosed in a globe-shaped dome. They were all antennae of the parabolic type. Two other BMEWS posts were deployed in Clear (Alaska) and Fylingdales Moor (Britain).

According to U.S. specialists' assessments, the BMEWS radar posts reliably ensured the fulfillment of their missile attack early warning functions. At the same time they were not suitable for direct use for ABM purposes, for instance for tracking the warheads of ballistic missiles and guiding antimissiles to them. Soviet specialists were of the same opinion.

It is considered that a good missile attack warning system is a factor that stabilizes the strategic situation inasmuch as it ensures more time for assessing the genuineness and nature of the threat and making an appropriate decision. That is why at the SALT I talks in 1969-1972, during the elaboration of the ABM Treaty, the Soviet side did not object to the United States retaining its BMEWS posts. Nor did the Soviet side protest when in 1977 plans became known for the modernization of elements of the system, including parabolic-antenna radar. The U.S. side said nothing about plans for the subsequent replacement of the old radars with large-scale phased-array radars.

In Thule now instead of several old radar stations with parabolic antennae a large-scale new phased-array radar of the Pave Paws type has been deployed and has been operating for 2 years now. And that changes matters radically.

These radars were a subject of special concern during the elaboration of the ABM Treaty. Here is what representatives of the U.S. side had to say about them at the time: "We think that it is expedient to draw a distinction between phased-array and non-phased-array radars. The BMEWS radars are not phased-array radars." And further on: "A large-scale phased-array radar has the physical capabilities for detecting and tracking strategic ballistic missiles on their flight trajectories..., they are potentially suitable for use for ABM purposes. That is why a mutual agreement between the sides regarding the deployment of these radars is of special importance in ensuring confidence that a potential radar basis is not being created either for the high-density defense [plotnaya oborona] of a substantial region or for high-density defense covering an entire country."

At the talks the U.S. side thus not only saw a difference between large-scale phased-array radars and the radars with parabolic antennae deployed in the BMEWS system, including in Thule, but also stressed the need for a special approach toward limitations on large-scale phased-array radars. Inasmuch as these differences were also seen by the Soviet side, a great deal of time was devoted to this problem in the process of work on the ABM Treaty. Ultimately strict limitations were worked out with regard to the deployment of such radars on the territory of the sides and with regard to their function.

These limitations were formulated in the form of agreed statement F, which is an inalienable part of the ABM Treaty:

"The Parties agree not to deploy phased-array radars having a potential (the product of mean emitted power in watts and antenna area in square meters) exceeding three million, except as provided for in Articles III, IV, and VI of the Treaty or except for the purpose of tracking objects in outer space or for use as national technical means of verification."

One note: Radars with a potential in excess of three million began to be called "large."

Washington now seems to have forgotten its own former utterances regarding the agreed statement elaborated in conjunction with its partner in the talks, a statement with the U.S. side itself marked with the letter "F," and it is trying to claim that the replacement of the Thule parabolic-antenna radar with a large-scale phased-array radar is entirely legitimate.

But let's turn to agreed statement F which, incidentally, like all other provisions of the ABM Treaty, began to operate when that document came into force, that is 3 October 1972. What is it about? Agreeing not to deploy large-scale phased-array radars, except as stipulated by Articles III, IV, and VI, the sides thereby undertook not to deploy them anywhere except:

a) regions in which it is permitted to have limited ABM defense (one region each on the territory of each side—Article III, 1974 protocol);

b) ABM test ranges (Article IV);

c) the periphery of national territory and oriented outward (Article VI).

It follows from the concluding part of the statement that it does allow an exception. Limitations on the siting of radars do not extend to those radars which cannot be used either for the purpose of tracking objects in space (like the Soviet radar under construction in the Krasnoyarsk region, for instance) or as national technical means of verification.

Does agreed statement F contain the right for the United States to deploy a large-scale phased-array radar in Thule? Definitely not.

The new radar in Thule has been deployed there after the ABM Treaty came into force. Consequently statement F fully applies to this case. Thule is neither an authorized region of limited ABM deployment nor a U.S. ABM test range, nor is it on the country's periphery—Greenland is not U.S. territory at all.

The radar in Thule has been officially declared to be a missile attack early warning system. That is why the exclusion affecting radars designed "to track objects in outer space or for use as national technical means of verification" does not apply to it.

The United States had no legal grounds for deploying the large-scale phased-array radar in Thule. The deployment was in violation of the ABM Treaty.

Washington's attempts to present the deployment of the new large-scale radar in Thule as a "modernization" or "modernization through replacement" of the old BMEWS radars are well known. Here U.S. spokesmen cite Article VII of the ABM Treaty which, they say, permits such modernization.

But, first, hardly anyone will take seriously the claim that by replacing several old parabolic-antenna radars with one new large-scale phased-array radar the United States was "modernizing" these stations. The old and new radars belong to absolutely different radar systems in terms of the elements that make them up, their manufacture, and the principle of their operation.

Second, even if you allow that the BMEWS post in Thule has been modernized by replacing radars of one type with radars of another, it is perfectly obvious that what is happening here is that **radars permitted by the treaty are being replaced by radars that are banned by the treaty.** There can be no talk of that kind of "modernization" either in Article VII of the treaty or elsewhere. Indeed, there were initially several radars at Thule. It was because they were parabolic-antenna radars that the Soviet side did not insist on their elimination—they were "authorized." In Thule now, despite agreed statement F, a new radar has appeared whose deployment in this region is forbidden.

In general, from the viewpoint of a specialist engaged in ABM questions, in the case we are examining involving the deployment of a large-scale phased-array radar, it is by no means a question of what the U.S. side calls the action as a result of which this radar has appeared in Thule—of whether it calls it a "modernization," "modernization through replacement," or simply "replacement." That does not alter the thrust of the matter. It is a fact that is important here: A large-scale U.S. phased-array radar has appeared in a region where, under the provisions of the ABM Treaty, it should not be. What could be more obvious evidence of the violation of the ABM Treaty?

Washington is making excuses. It is not only refusing to take steps to rectify the situation in Thule but is even aggravating the violation by deploying yet another large-scale phased-array radar in Fylingdales Moor (Yorkshire, Britain).

Some of my Western interlocutors, while agreeing that, by deploying the new radar in Thule, the United States has indeed violated the ABM Treaty, at the same time try as it were to mitigate the United States' guilt. They suggest that the violation may not be deliberate, but was the result of U.S. radar designers' incompetence in treaty affairs. I would like to agree with them, but the facts attest to the opposite. The point is that the decision to deploy the new radar in Thule was made counter to the suggestion made by U.S. Air Force representatives who initially rejected this idea because of "potential conflicts connected with the ABM Treaty." This was reported in

particular by THE NEW YORK TIMES 28 January 1987. The U.S. Air Force representatives obviously had quite a good idea of the thrust of the pledges that had been undertaken.

It is reasonable to ask: But what attitude do Denmark and Britain take to their (voluntary or involuntary) involvement in violations of the ABM Treaty by the United States? It must be said that Danish parliamentarians have raised the question of U.S. actions in Thule. This prompted Danish Foreign Minister U. Ellemann-Jensen to visit Greenland in April last year to familiarize himself on the spot with what the Americans were really doing there with their "radar post."

Unfortunately, U. Ellemann-Jensen was satisfied with mere "explanations" from the U.S. side. This led to a statement that, in deploying the new radar in Thule, the United States was pursuing "exclusively purposes of defense." It would obviously be more accurate to say that it was exactly the kind of defense banned by the ABM Treaty. But this would have been tantamount to recognizing the United States' complicity in destroying one of the most important documents of modern times. He also said that the radar was of great importance for the security of Greenland and Denmark. A highly dubious thesis. An attempt to justify the United States' violation of the ABM Treaty can scarcely serve the security interests of Denmark or anyone else. The path of violations is, together with the adoption of the SDI program, the path toward renouncing the treaty and consequently toward a return of the unlimited arms race of the sixties and early seventies at an increasingly higher scientific and technical level, with the opening up of new salients and a dubious prospect of stopping it. It may confidently be said that all this does not add to the security of Greenland and Denmark. On the contrary, together with other states and peoples of the world they would gradually come closer to catastrophe.

As for the British leadership, following the tactic of its transatlantic partner, it prefers not to focus public attention on the fact that a U.S. radar has been deployed in Fylingdales Moor.

In its 27 October statement the Soviet Government noted its adherence to the aims and tasks of the ABM Treaty. Here it was stressed that the Soviet Union is firmly counting on the United States taking steps to eliminate its concern in connection with the violation of the ABM Treaty as a result of the deployment of the large-scale U.S. phased-array radar in Greenland and the construction of a similar radar in Britain.

On this occasion too Washington has preferred to keep quiet about the fact of its violations of the treaty. But violations do not thereby cease to be violations and the need to take steps does not disappear.

Agitating for the conservation of the ABM Treaty is superfluous—its role in the consolidation of international security is obvious. That is why the Soviet Union has urged and continues to urge the United States to resolve the problems arising in connection with its observance and to renounce any plans and programs leading to the destruction or renunciation of this fundamental document of the treaty and legal system for limiting and reducing arms.

Nuclear Risk Reduction Center Profiled

PM2311144188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1, 6

[Report by A. Gorokhov pegged to Missile Troops and Artillery Day: "Grand Strategy. Reportage From the National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center"]

[Text] Moscow—I am writing these notes in the wake of the triumphant flight of the reusable craft "Buran." Here too, at the National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, which is literally two steps from the Kremlin, on Tuesday morning, everyone was watching the television report from Baykonur. Many military test personnel work at the cosmodrome, while most of the center's personnel are missile officers who know Baykonur well.

I am afraid that those who expect to see exotic interiors at the center will be in for something of the disappointment I could not help feeling: just a conference room, a duty shift room, a communications center, offices, bulletin boards.... High-quality, smart, comfortable, and humdrum. But a whole lot better, as they say, than being in Room 7518 on the seventh floor of the U.S. State Department building, where you will find the U.S. counterpart. The fact that the institution bearing that name developed literally "under the wing" of the USSR Armed Forces general staff brings it, rather, into the realm of fantasy.

The words in the headline used to apply, as a rule, to descriptions of the world wars: to the sides' designs, assessments of the military-political and economic situation, combat actions, results, and lessons. Grand strategy issues of quite a different kind were reflected on the center's screens—the strategy of a nuclear-free world.

What is the personnel of this very unusual organization, headed by Major General V. Medvedev, engaged in round the clock? Incidentally, Vladimir Ivanovich, whom I met many times during the elaboration of the future treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, spent the whole week away on a trip. I was briefed by his deputy, Colonel V. Yevdokimov, who in 1960 had joined the newly created Rocket Forces without even knowing really what a rocket was. Like, in fact, the majority of officers—"pure" gunners, airmen, seamen, and infantrymen, who were recruited into the Rocket Forces at the time. Only as the years passed would a powerful infrastructure be set up in the force, including its own VUZ's, institutes, test sites, and garrisons, which

in less than 30 years (the jubilee is next year) would fundamentally change the face of the Rocket Forces, whose name would subsequently be expanded to include the word "strategic."

We talked with Vyacheslav Vasilyevich about the paramount task. It is clear: to prevent a military conflict. It is also clear that the Nuclear Risk Reduction Center is not the Rocket Forces Main Headquarters, let alone the General Staff. It has its own methods of influencing the course of history. But I do not think the center's personnel are intended to be mere extras. Only a year ago the center was giving Washington notification only of the launching of ICBM's in the USSR on flightpaths taking them outside national boundaries. Today both sides are notifying one another of all launches of ICBM's and submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

But these are all armament issues. The other side of the center's activity is prompt information on progress in the implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. And that is disarmament. These are the apparently uncomplicated dialectics that required substantial restructuring in the missilemen's minds and hearts.

In fact, the mere 30-year period of development of the Strategic Rocket Forces has brought the youngest category of the Armed Forces to the...disbandment of several of its combat units. What is the result of this? The complex psychological state of the missile officer, who, it is no exaggeration to say, has put his heart and soul into his job, into his missile, be it a mobile RSD-10 or stationary R-12, and before whose very eyes these missiles, worth millions, are being destroyed. Indeed, a regiment means hundreds of officers and warrant officers and their families; it is to some extent an established way of life with clear prospects. In this sense, I believe, the Rocket Forces leadership has a tough task to tackle at the moment.

Let us suppose that an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments is signed. For your information, as of 1 January 1988 we had 1,390 ICBM launch installations. Behind this figure is a multitude of highly skilled specialists with a massive engineering and organizational potential. Will we be ready to find a proper use for this potential? That is the question.

There is another aspect: No one has relieved the missilemen of the task of increasing combat readiness. Quantitative reductions imply qualitative growth—increasing the combat stability, to use the right concept, of the Rocket Forces: their reliability, protection, mobility.

I will cite what I regard as a curious transatlantic example. In 1959, in Miami Beach, Florida, at an exhibition organized by the U.S. Air Force former servicemen's association, a model of an ICBM launch transporter was displayed for the first time. The Minuteman solid-fuel missile was considered the most suitable for this type of railroad combat complex. It was assumed that the couple of hundred missile complexes would simply "vanish" among the tens of thousands of trains traveling around the country. But in 1962 it was decided that the program had no future.

What then? It was the "silo" line that won the day over there, and here too: as deep a silo as possible and as much concrete as possible. But soon the silo protection concept began to come apart at the seams. Space reconnaissance facilities and guided and multiple warheads appeared, and, naturally, the energy potential for destroying stationary launch sites increased. In short, the information and energy "explosion" had substantially undermined the combat stability. Mobile nuclear missiles were able to restore the sinister status quo.

One possible way of increasing mobility was to place missiles on submarines and heavy bombers. Here the Americans have a marked edge. "Wheeled traction" is another way. Our RSD-10 missile, what the West calls an SS-20, is an example of this approach. While proposing, by the end of this year, to complete the deployment of 50 new MX ICBM's in modified Minuteman silos, the Americans, to all appearances, are concentrating their efforts on deploying MX missiles on railroad flatcars and the compact Midgetman missiles (a second type of new ICBM) on truck tractors, thus implementing an administration recommendation going back to the early eighties (General Scowcroft's commission) on a switch from stationary to mobile complexes. Meanwhile, the right-wing press is "savaging" Soviet SS-25 ICBM's, associating them with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles or, rather, its alleged violation, and hoping that people will be ignorant enough to believe this.

SS-25's are being placed on station instead of missiles that have done their stint. But they are part of a completely different equation—the one relating to strategic offensive armaments, which are being discussed at the Geneva talks. This does not increase the total number of Soviet strategic armaments envisaged under the SALT II Treaty (1979) by a single unit.

It is curious, nevertheless, how solidly constructed U.S. reconnaissance satellites are! They can "identify a sharp increase in the number of mobile Soviet ICBM's," but they cannot identify a sharp reduction in the quantity of other types of Soviet ICBM's. Although, as I am aware, our missilemen take special steps to ensure that missiles being taken out of combat use can be, to use a more cunning phrase, easily observed by "national technical facilities," that is, satellites.

But let us return to the center. Colonel V. Yevdokimov invited us to meet the duty shift. It comprised shift chief Colonel A. Yarmishko, Captain M. Sorokin, and consultant translator Senior Lieutenant M. Ufimtsev. What events had taken place today, 15 November, on the disarmament front? Four OTR-22's had been liquidated in Saryozek, as well as two RSD-1 launch installations

and two transport facility units in Sarny and an R-12 launch platform, a truck (type not specified), and one erector in Lesnaya. Soviet inspectors had started work at the Comiso base in Italy and removal of the first nine Pershing-2 nuclear missiles had started from the American base in Mutlangen, FRG.

Behind A. Yarmishko there was a large map of the USSR with signs marking the places being visited by U.S. inspectors. One was attached to my jacket, as a souvenir. In the next room—the communications center—another session began on the Moscow-Washington line. Captain S. Rubashnyy and operator Lyubov Lyang are on duty today on this "channel of trust," this tiny trickle which, we would very much like to hope, will one day grow into a deep river. At least, that is what happens in nature.

When this material was ready for printing, we contacted the center to obtain the latest figures. By 1300 on 18 November 385 missiles (excluding training missiles) and 147 launchers had been destroyed in the course of the implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the Soviet Union comprising 63 RSD-10 missiles, 26 R-12 missiles, 80 RK-55 missiles (the entire arsenal), and 216 operational tactical OTR-22 missiles. The transatlantic indicators are as follows: 46 Pershing-1 missiles, 9 Pershing-2 missiles, 41 BGM cruise missiles, and 17 launchers. By yesterday the USSR had carried out 40 inspections in the United States and in countries where nuclear missile weapons are deployed. The United States—165 inspections.... This is grand strategy in action.

Gerasimov Briefs Press at Foreign Ministry

On U.S. Visa Refusal to 'Arafat

LD2811140988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 28 Nov (TASS)—Moscow considers the decision of the U.S. State Department to refuse to issue an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, so that he can address the UN General Assembly, to be an unconstructive and illegal step, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry said at a briefing here today.

From a legal point of view, he said the refusal of a visa to the head of an organization which has the status of a permanent observer at the United Nations, is in clear contradiction with the 1947 agreement between the United Nations and the Government of the United States regarding the location of the central institutions of the United Nations Organization.

The decision by the U.S. State Department was made at a time when the Palestine Liberation Organization has clearly declared itself to be a responsible and essential partner in the peace talks on a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed. It has confirmed its recognition of the existing resolutions of the UN Security Council and has also condemned all forms and methods of terrorism. "The PLO decisions, which are beneficial to the cause of peace, have received high appreciation everywhere," said Gennadiy Gerasimov, "and have given rise to legitimate hopes that the peace process in the Near East will receive a powerful stimulus."

The Soviet side considers that it is the direct duty of permanent members of the UN Security Council to help in the search for paths to establish peace and stability in all areas of the world including the Near East, to get a dialogue under way between all the interested parties, and to use the capabilities of the United Nations more actively for this.

"This step taken by the U.S. State Department will create serious obstacles on that path and strike a blow at the prestige and authority of the United Nations," Gennadiy Gerasimov said in conclusion.

Comments on French Talks

LD2811141988 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, described the Soviet-French talks on November 25-26 as "brief but quite fruitful" today. He said that these talks carried a "strong political charge capable of stimulating and reactivating the dialogue and cooperation between the two countries, to take it to a new level corresponding to the respective roles of the USSR and France in today's world, to their political and intellectual potentials."

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that on Sunday Soviet Embassy officials in Pakistan met in Islamabad with representatives of the Afghan opposition to discuss liberation of Soviet servicemen taken prisoner in Afghanistan. Gerasimov said that "the meeting was organised with the assistance of Pakistani authorities but without their participation." The sides agreed to continue the contacts.

Gerasimov described the protocol, signed today, to extend till December 31, 1990, the agreement of August 25, 1983, between the Soviet and the U.S. Governments on grain shipments as an important milestone in the Soviet-American trade relations. The spokesman reminded newsmen that the agreement provided for annual purchases from the United States of 9 million tons of grain and soya beans, and for the possibility to buy, if need be, extra quantities of these products.

Questioned by a newsman, Gerasimov confirmed that Avraham Tamir, director general of the Foreign Ministry of Israel, had arrived in Moscow on November 27. The Israeli official is staying in the USSR as a private individual on tourist visa and on an individual basis. He will stay in the Soviet Union till November 30 of this year.

Igor Yurgens, deputy head of the International Department of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, who spoke at the briefing, told newsmen that U.S. authorities refused to issue entry visas to a group of editors of Soviet trade union magazines and newspapers. He said that during the current year U.S. authorities had refused to issue visas five times to Soviet unionists, which is hindering Soviet-American Trade Union exchanges and consequently the process of the improvement of the Soviet-American relations as a whole.

Dismisses NATO Report

LD2811142288 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today dismissed as propaganda a recent NATO report on the correlation of armed forces and conventional weapons between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing here.

"By arbitrarily computing individual categories of arms, NATO countries seek to misrepresent the real picture regarding the correlation of forces in Europe," he said.

The Soviet Union last May made a proposal to NATO members for a formal exchange of initial data which can be used at future negotiations a mandate for which is being worked out in Vienna, Gerasimov recalled, adding that the NATO countries have not given a positive response to the proposal.

The Soviet proposal is still standing, the spokesman noted.

The Soviet side believes that a formal initial data exchange could be effected either before or during talks on conventional armaments in Europe, he said.

On Journalists in U.S., UK Venture

PM2511145188 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 48, 26 Nov-2 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 24 Nov 88) p 5

[Unattributed "Press Center" report]

[Text] At the latest briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, Information Directorate chief G. Gerasimov announced that, according to a statement by White House official spokesman M. Fitzwater, as of 1 January 1989 Soviet journalists in Washington will, like all others, be issued White House passes for 2 years rather than for 2 months as in the past. Soviet journalists, who were being discriminated against compared with their colleagues, will thus enjoy most-favored status.

An agreement to create the "Intershelf" Soviet-British joint enterprise was signed in London on 15 November. Its main purpose is to carry out planning work on the opening up of the continental shelf and to provide engineering design and commercial services. It is expected that the enterprise will start operations 1 January next year. The British side will undertake the training of Soviet specialists in London according to its own programs.

G. Gerasimov also announced that the leadership of APN has expressed surprise in connection with the ban on the distribution of the journal SPUTNIK (published by APN) in the GDR. The distribution of periodical publications, G. Gerasimov emphasized, is certainly a country's internal affair, but we cannot accept the motivation behind this specific decision.

Shevardnadze on Foreign Policy, Disarmament

AU1711095188 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 45, 4 Nov 88 pp 4-5

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Politburo member and Soviet foreign minister, by Ferenc Varnai, deputy chief editor of MAGYARORSZAG, in Budapest: "Wars Are Losing Ground—Restructuring and Diplomacy—Shevardnadze on Troop Withdrawal"; date not given]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, who visited Hungary on the occasion of the session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee, received Ferenc Varnai and gave an exclusive interview to MAGYARORSZAG.

[Varnai] You have a new approach toward relations between class interests and general human interests in world politics. Would you explain this issue for our readers?

[Shevardnadze] I would like to mention here the eternal philosophical dilemma of the mutual relations between parts and the whole, what is personal and what is public, the individual and the community, and among the class, national, and general human aspects. Marxism gives clear answers to these issues. The social revolutions carried out by the exploited classes objectively serve the interests of the majority and of progress. History knows of revolutions that failed because the classes of people who carried them out were not supported by the social community. No matter what classes we are talking about, the interests of the community's existence and development will determine the framework in which one class of people or another can attain their particular goals.

The Common Denominator

In this respect, Lenin's views provide the guidelines for us, namely that "the essential principle of Marxism is that the interests of overall social development precede the interests of the proletariat." As you see, the new thing here is again nothing but an old, forgotten idea.

Unfortunately, in the past scientific theories were often replaced by simplified stereotypes and their contents suppressed. In the process of our society's renewal, theoretical views concerning the world at large and our place in this world are also being renewed.

The issue of the mutual relations between class interests and general human interests has not only become extremely important these days, but is also directly affecting our everyday policy. In the past, the divided world full of obstacles and "dividing walls" did not have—and, objectively, could not have—universal values and collective interests. The idea of survival had a meaning only for individual classes, nations, and states, but not for the whole of mankind. However, the first "big" war of 1914-18, which covered the entire continent and led to the destruction of several tens of millions of people, put the issue of "a common denominator" on the agenda. As early as that, Lenin had already prophetically pointed out that the development in the forces of production and, consequently, the modernization of weapons of mass destruction would objectively make the world recognize the importance of protecting its common interests.

All this was once only a prophecy but has now become a political and moral imperative for the whole of mankind, which for the first time in its history is now threatened by self-destruction. This is a multifaceted danger. The development of military technology has led to a situation in which a world war could draw our civilization to the brink of life and death, even without the use of nuclear weapons. The "second nature" created by mankind, the

technosphere, is able to threaten its own natural environment, the biosphere. The strained differences between the economic levels of various peoples are threatening to bring about the global collapse of the world economic system. The danger of mankind's intellectual degeneration is also real because, even if mankind survives physically, it could lose its ability to measure values, and thus it would again lower the threshold of its own security.

Destructive processes in the basic elements of life on earth have never emerged in such near "unison" as nowadays. Therefore, it is understandable that human thought, which has always worked out "accident prevention" concepts in reply to the requirements of social development, could no longer remain in a state of undisturbed calm. As an answer to the challenge of our age, human thought has created a new thinking as a philosophy and as a means of practical policy. The new thinking emerged from the finest minds, among them people who became frightened of the possible consequences of their discovery. Entering the practice of international relations, this new thinking turned into a political thinking which recognizes peace as the supreme value, preceding class, social policy, and ideological values. The conclusion of the 27th CPSU Congress, according to which general human interests are above class interests, represents the pillar or, as Mikhail Gorbachev has put it, the core of this new political thinking.

Of course, the interests of the ruling classes continue to determine the policy of all countries. However, in accordance with the present realities in the world, these interests must adapt to the general human "denominators." Thus the philosophy of peaceful coexistence takes on a different meaning.

In dealing with this issue in this way, we do not take up a passive position concerning peace, and do not give up our class interests and positions. On the contrary, we enrich and strengthen these positions. The main class interest of socialism is to safeguard peace and create conditions of free development for all people.

It Should Not Be Estranged

Freedom of choice, which is based on Marx's essential theory, is also an important link in the chain of our new political thinking. This excludes messianism, the forced spreading of a model of social and political development, and the military suppression of the peoples' endeavors to choose their desirable model freely and independently. In our view, the task of our foreign policy and diplomacy in international issues is to promote this freedom of choice in the spirit of the international law and legality. Every nation has the right to determine its own fate and the paths of its development, and to protect its achievements.

[Varnai] What are the effects of this new thinking and of the prevailing restructuring process on Soviet diplomacy?

[Shevardnadze] The renewal of the forms and methods of our diplomacy is the direct result of the process of domestic restructuring currently under way in the Soviet Union. This restructuring process is an answer to the objective requirements of our domestic development, and simultaneously, it represents a contribution to the development of the entire world. I will not mention here the initial results, as I think they are clear to everyone. Nor do I intend to explain that restructuring the diplomatic service is a permanent and lasting process. A constitutional mechanism will emerge in accordance with the decisions of the 19th party conference, in the framework of the political reform under way in our country, and on the basis of a wide-scale democratic procedure and complete openness. This will extensively affect the foreign policy decisions covering the broadest possible areas, the practical implementation of the international law, the analysis of public opinion, the consideration of a pluralism of opinions and of a variety of positions in working out the planned measures, and many other things. We have a new approach to the role and place of foreign policy bodies in the framework of executive power, and to the ways of practical delimitation of rights, obligations, and functions. We want to create a mechanism—and such a mechanism is already being prepared—which will put an end to the situation in which the people are estranged from foreign policy, and foreign policy is detached from the people.

We are building our contacts with all countries on the basis of this new political thinking. We have, of course, priorities. Our relations with our friends and allies—the countries of our community and the entire socialist world—have top priority for us. At the same time we are proud that, during the years of restructuring, we have not only strengthened our existing relations but have also built new ones without spoiling our existing relations with anyone. Our actions have met with the expectations of all of mankind.

Unity in Diversity

[Varnai] How do you evaluate the increasingly frequent independent foreign policy initiatives of the socialist countries?

[Shevardnadze] Indeed, the socialist countries are making increasingly frequent independent and concrete initiatives in the international arena. This also reflects our new concepts concerning the socialist community. In the past, we regarded unity as being uniformity. Today, real unity requires a variety of contributions to the common cause.

The foreign policy initiatives made by our allies are in harmony with the policy of our alliance. Examples of such initiatives are the Jaruzelski plan on reducing

armaments and taking confidence-strengthening measures in central Europe, and the Jakes plan which proposes the establishment of a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. I could also mention here the proposals made by the GDR and the CSSR, and by Romania and Bulgaria on the need to establish nuclear and chemical arms-free zones in various areas in Europe, as well as the tripartite initiative of the MSZMP, the Finnish Social-Democratic Party, and the Italian Socialist Party for cooperation by nonnuclear countries to promote disarmament in Europe. Hungary's activity to promote cultural and humanitarian cooperation has become an all-European factor.

All these initiatives follow goals that are uniform for all the Warsaw Pact member countries: reduction of the danger of war and of the level of military confrontation and the development of East-West cooperation, of contacts in various areas, and of the dialogue in Europe.

[Varnai] What progress has there been in Soviet-U.S. dialogue? What are its prospects?

[Shevardnadze] On the basis of the results achieved in the wake of the four summit meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, and of meetings at other levels, we can formulate a forecast according to which the dialogue will continue and further develop in all the main issues on the agenda, on security, on the limitation and reduction of armaments, on regional conflicts, on human rights, and on bilateral relations.

We hope that the continuity of our bilateral relations will prevail after the new U.S. Administration takes office. We would like to believe that our partners will understand that the progress achieved so far is the common property of all mankind, and not only of the peoples of our two countries. Soviet-U.S. dialogue is so much in harmony with the major interests of all the peoples that it would be sheer madness to let our relations relapse to the previous line of confrontation and lack of confidence.

A Summit With China Is in the Making

[Varnai] Therefore, dialogue, rather than confrontation, is the characteristic feature of Soviet foreign policy today. Does the same apply to China?

[Shevardnadze] China is a big power and a permanent member of the UN Security Council. It would be difficult to imagine the world today without a constructive dialogue between countries that bear particular responsibility for preserving peace and international security. The Soviet Union, China, and all the other states need this dialogue. In addition, China is a huge socialist country. The development of good-neighborly cooperation between us is another important dimension. We are in favor of a serious and substantial political dialogue with China on all issues of mutual interest. Many things have already changed in our bilateral relations in recent years, and these relations continue to improve. The world welcomes this progress. However, we must go further toward more and better cooperation.

PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of December this year, and I think we will also pay a reciprocal visit to China. We hope that the issue of a Soviet-Chinese summit will soon reach the practical level. In his speech in Krasnoyarsk on 16 September, Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed Soviet readiness to hold a summit meeting. We think the conditions are ripe for holding such a meeting.

Profound changes are under way in both the Soviet Union and China, changes that affect all areas of social, political, and economic activity. Of course, each country is acting under its own specific conditions. At the same time, this process has common goals: a maximal use of the opportunities inherent in socialism.

Today it is still impossible to predict the future of Soviet-Chinese relations precisely, but it is already clear that these relations will turn out the way we, the Soviet Union and China, want them to develop. The Soviet Union wants these contacts to be equal and directed toward mutual advantage, mutual prosperity, and cooperation that will promote the consolidation of general human values and ideals, as the major criteria of a rational system in the world.

[Varnai] How do you evaluate Hungarian-Soviet relations?

[Shevardnadze] We are satisfied with the dynamics of these relations, and we highly appreciate the confidential and comradely atmosphere that has developed between the top leaders of our two countries. The talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Karoly Grosz reaffirmed the harmony between our two parties' endeavors and created the further preconditions that are necessary to deepen and intensify our cooperation and enrich each other with our experiences in socialist construction. Our countries' foreign policy endeavors are also in harmony with each other.

As Early as in 1-2 Years?

Concerning our economic and trade relations, we are aware of the serious difficulties we have encountered. With joint forces we are searching for resources and for new and advanced forms of cooperation. The first, modest results have already been achieved. Although the greatest difficulties in our economic and trade cooperation are expected to emerge in the coming years, we already see the prospects of a dynamic development.

A lot is being done to increase the effectiveness of Soviet-Hungarian cultural, scientific, and educational relations, and to develop bilateral tourism. We have

signed or prepared agreements that will considerably ease our citizens' mutual tourism and contacts. The future Cultural, Scientific, and Information Center of the Hungarian People's Republic in Moscow, and the future Center of Hungarian Studies affiliated to the University of Ungvar will carry out a very important activity. I must admit self-critically that the opening of these two centers has been unjustifiably delayed. However, all the necessary measures will be taken in the near future to enable these centers to begin their activity.

[Varnai] What are the prospects for reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe, including the armed forces stationed in Hungary?

[Shevardnadze] I understand how sensitive this issue is for the Hungarian public. I would like to tell you that this issue also concerns the Soviet people. I will remind you of the declaration made by Mikhail Gorbachev that the Soviet Union does not intend to deploy its troops abroad "forever." We would like to put an end to this situation as soon as possible, but many things do not depend only on us.

I would like to stress here that the presence of Soviet troops in some Warsaw Pact member states is connected only with the external aspects of guaranteeing their security. Just like any other ally, the Soviet Union is also interested in radically reducing NATO and Warsaw Pact military potential in Europe, and the remaining troops should be solely defensive in nature. The documents of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meetings in Budapest in 1986, Berlin in 1987, and Warsaw in 1988 expressed this endeavor.

The Vienna meeting has essentially coordinated the mandate for future negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, and these negotiations can begin as early as this year. If all the sides display goodwill, the first results can be achieved in a relatively short time and the first phase of this reduction, aimed at eliminating the imbalance and asymmetry between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, could be carried out in 1 or 2 years.

The reduction will cover all of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, including, of course, Hungary. The foreign troops stationed on the territories of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries will also be mutually reduced. This also refers to the Soviet military companies stationed in Hungary.

About "Political Prisoners"

[Varnai] At the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna, some Western countries do not want to agree to hold a conference on humanitarian issues in Moscow within the framework of the all-European process. They demand a precondition, namely that the Soviet Union release its political prisoners. What is the situation in this area?

[Shevardnadze] Such "tactics" are incorrect and unacceptable. The conditions occasionally raised by the West are connected with neither the real situation nor the essence of this issue. For example, in connection with the economic forum to be organized in the FRG, we do not raise the condition to first eliminate the discriminatory rules of the Cocom list, although this demand would be justified. Of course, one can always find something that one does not like or disagrees with. If we followed such a road, the Helsinki process would become paralyzed.

As for "political prisoners," Soviet legislation does not recognize such a category of prisoners. Here, the West means people who were convicted on the basis of our currently valid penal code for activities that the West considers political. I do not want to start an argument here about how to interpret this activity, but I will say this much: The restructuring process under way in the Soviet Union has established the goal of advancing toward a socialist constitutional state and perfecting our penal codes. Our judicial authorities have begun to revise the cases of several persons who were convicted on the basis of the aforementioned articles of our penal code. Many of them have already been pardoned and released from prison, and others received general amnesty. At present, there are only 11 such persons who continue to serve prison terms.

There is another group of persons who were sentenced at the time but were later declared mentally deranged and hospitalized for treatment. There are 25 such people. Mental institutions are open: health care institutions where the Soviet doctors are ready to receive their foreign colleagues to discuss issues related to diagnosis, medication, and the conditions of their patients. Besides, a U.S. medical delegation which will come to the Soviet Union in the following weeks as guests of the Soviet Ministry of Health will also be able to visit these institutions.

We are ready to develop our humanitarian cooperation with all countries. If there are any demands, we propose that we discuss them at the conference on humanitarian issues to be held in Moscow.

NATO Assembly Session Ends in Portugal

LD2311215488 Moscow TASS in English 2129 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Lisbon November 24 TASS—A session of the 34th Assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association ended in Estoril, resort area on the outskirts of the Portuguese capital. The session adopted a call for the further buildup of NATO defense potential and strengthening of cooperation and unity of NATO members. The session attended by representatives of all NATO member countries and NATO leaders, among them NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner concentrated on East-West relations following the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

It follows from speeches at the session that recognizing on the whole the need for the continuation of talks with the Soviet Union and Warsaw Treaty countries on the reduction of nuclear and conventional armaments, representatives of NATO countries at the same time declared for the modernisation of nuclear armaments in Europe. They repeated hackneyed allegations about the Soviet military menace, ignoring the fact that it is precisely the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that proposed constructive steps toward demilitarisation of Europe, concentration of peace and security in Europe.

New chairman of the Atlantic Treaty Association was elected at the session—Bernardino Gomes of Portugal who had earlier been the association's deputy chairman. He replaced on the post of chairman Francis Pym of Great Britain.

Moscow TV on Speech by NATO's Woerner

LD2411222588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 24 Nov 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] Good evening, comrades. Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary general, has delivered a speech in which he said the following: The difficulty we face today is the inclination of many to believe that Soviet intentions are no longer hostile. You will agree that this is a very frank statement. Indeed, on the one hand all of the Soviet Union's foreign policy convinces one that we are pursuing exclusively peace-loving aims and sincerely striving for a life without war or confrontation. The myth of Moscow's aggressiveness is continually fading. On the other hand, how can generals who have been sounding the trumpets of war for decades and who, strictly speaking, have devoted their whole lives and careers to convincing both themselves and others that military confrontation is the only possible way to coexist with the Soviets, agree with all of this?

Yes, it is difficult now for the NATO generals. One can undertstand them. One can understand why this same Woerner, in his speech—while welcoming serious talks between East and West—nonetheless calls on the NATO countries not to take Gorbachev's economic and social reforms at face value.

In quoting Woerner I wanted to show that despite the very fast-developing, positive processes in the world, and despite the fact that the new political thinking is becoming a reality and a philosophical position for millions and millions of people, we nonetheless need to be aware that very serious forces of inertia exist. The burden of past years continues to exert pressure, and very consistent, painstaking, and persistent work is required to make our planet irreversibly safe for mankind.

Gorbachev Greets AAPSO Congress

PM2411133188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[M. Gorbachev greetings message: "To the Seventh AAPSO Congress"]

[Text] I cordially greet the participants in the Seventh AAPSO Congress.

The noble aims of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement—world peace, the elimination of colonialism, opposition to aggression and intervention in sovereign people's affairs, and the eradication of racism and apartheid—have always been actively supported by the Soviet people. Each people's freedom to choose its own path of development is the key concept in the new thinking by which we are guided in the world arena. Now that the question of the survival of civilization is being raised, respect for and observance of this principle should be the universal norm of international life.

The Soviet Union's political course of building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, settling regional conflicts, creating a system of international political and economic security, and democratizing international relations wholly accords with the interests of the Asian and African peoples. We will strive to achieve this in close cooperation with the developing countries and the entire world community.

I wish you, dear friends, success in your representative forum.

M. Gorbachev

Preparations for Youth Festival Discussed

PM2811095588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 p 3

[Own correspondent S. Maslov dispatch: "Guideline—Action!]

[Excerpts] Berlin—The third session of the International Preparatory Committee for the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students is continuing in Berlin. [passage omitted]

The upcoming 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang is called upon to make an important contribution to the cause of consolidating the ranks of the international youth movement. Choe Yong-hae, chairman of the Korean Preparatory Committee, spoke of this in his speech at the session. He described in detail the large-scale, comprehensive preparatory work in which all the country's young people are actively involved, and the intensive international contacts which must promote the successful holding of the next festival. Choe Yong-hae expressed confidence that the problems which sometimes arise in the festival movement can be resolved on a broad democratic basis. The chairman of the Korean Preparatory Committee put forward a proposal to hold the fourth International Preparatory Committee session in Pyongyang, the DPRK capital, 1-5 April 1989. [passage omitted]

The session is continuing its work. L. Shvetsova, leader of the Soviet Preparatory Committee delegation and secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, addressed it yesterday.

United States & Canada

Reagan's Radio Address on Trade Reported

LD2711073788 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 27 TASS—President Ronald Reagan criticized in his regular radio address "the demagogues who are ready to declare a trade war" against U.S. allies, "all while cynically waving the American flag." According to the President, "protectionism is being used by some U.S. politicians as a cheap form of nationalism."

"We too often talk about trade while using the vocabulary of war. In war, for one side to win, the other must lose. But commerce is not warfare. Trade is an economic alliance that benefits both countries. There are no losers, only winners," the head of the U.S. Administration admitted.

Reagan's strong criticism, according to UPI News Agency, is levelled against those Democrats who support the introduction of some trade barriers. However, as practice shows, commerce is often regarded as a one-way road not only at Capitol Hill but at the White House as well. As early as August this year the President signed the trade bill after it had been drafted by the Congress for three years. The bill provides for sweeping reforms in the U.S. trade policy and practices. One of its main provisions gives the United States the right of punitive actions against all imports of a country which is found by Washington to be breaching fair play in trade. Reagan himself, signing the bill, had to admit that its implementation "could lead to an import fee that would be illegal according to international law and inconsistent with our goal of moving toward free world trade." Thus official Washington claims to allegiance to free trade are not always matched with practical deeds.

U.S. Shuttle's Mission Said 'Secret'

LD2711095388 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 27 TASS—The countdown for the launch of the Atlantis space shuttle will start at 8 hours 01 minutes Moscow time on Monday, November 28. According to reports in the American press on Saturday, the countdown will start 43 hours of "pure time" before the launch. If the stops of time are taken into account, which works out at 36 additional hours, needed to check the work of various systems of the spacecraft, specialists believe that the crew of five astronauts who are professional servicemen, will take their places aboard Atlantis a few minutes after midday Moscow time. Thus the launch will take place approximately three hours later. The precise time will be announced nine minutes before the launch, the CNN Television Network reported.

The main task of the secret mission is to put into near earth orbit a new generation reconnaissance satellite, codenamed Lacrosse. The satellite will conduct surveillance of the territory of the Soviet Union with the help of updated radar. The Pentagon plans to deploy in the next few years four other similiar spy satellites which will play the role of an "eye" for the new strategic bomber B-2, known as Stealth.

The landing of Atlantis will probably take place early on December 4 at Edwards Air Force Base, California, according to specialists' calculations of the possible orbit of the flight. Precise data and time will be announced only 24 hours before the landing.

'Stealth' Undermining Strategic Stability

PM2511151388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Baberdin article: "Undermining Strategic Stability. The United States Demonstrates the New B-2 Bomber Using 'Stealth' Technology"]

[Text] The ultramodern "Stealth" technology incorporated in the B-2 strategic bomber is rooted in the distant past. Even during World War II Germany painted the periscopes of its submarines with a special substance to absorb radar rays. This was followed by decades of research into "radar echo," in other words the process whereby electromagnetic rays are reflected by objects of different shapes and sizes. But, the foreign press emphasizes, proper research in this sphere by the United States started only in 1977. This was prompted by the vulnerability of U.S. aircraft and helicopters in Vietnam. By about 1980 the Pentagon announced in the press that, compared with the sixties and seventies, the funds for research into "Stealth" technology had increased one-hundredfold (!).

What is the objective of this technology? To ensure that no images are created on the enemy's radar screens (as if the radar ray is passing through empty space). Usually, when a ray hits an object, some of its energy is reflected and displayed by the radar receiver—the screen shows a spot indicating the target's location. Aircraft built using the "Stealth" technology should absorb virtually all this energy.

From time to time, one can hear experts' voices across the ocean saying that, in terms of their importance, the "Stealth programs" could be compared with and even overshadow the "Strategic Defense Initiative."

The foreign press reports that, apart from the Northrop Corporation's B-2 bomber, the "Stealth" technology will be used in a new generation of fighters and an Air Force cruise missile made by General Dynamics. Attempts are also being made to design reconnaissance drones using the same principle.

Revealing the potential of the "Stealth" technology, foreign specialists emphasize the exceptional cost of these programs. In 1987 former U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger announced that $36.6 billion would be needed for the manufacture of 132 B-2 aircraft. It soon became clear, however, that this amount was evidently deflated. The cost of one strategic bomber is now estimated at $400-500 million.

But is this technology reliable? Foreign experts express serious doubts on this account. It is hard to evade some radars, especially those operating in long wavelengths, while aircraft design relying on this technology could entail a lessening of specifications and reduced flight range and payload. But work is being stubbornly continued. Transatlantic strategists are only too eager to obtain the "invisible aircraft" intended to become a component of the U.S. nuclear triad.

U.S. Exploits 'Buran' Success To Advance SDI

PM2411145388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS commentator M. Knyazkov article: "Double-Edged Congratulations"]

[Text] Congratulations are pleasant, of course. They are doubly pleasant when they come from someone who appreciates and can properly assess the importance of the success you have achieved. But the value of the congratulations is lost completely when they lack simple human sincerity.

This, unfortunately, is precisely what has happened with the statement from General James Abrahamson, director of the organization responsible for the implementation of the "Strategic Defense Initiative," regarding the sucessful test flight by the Soviet reusable orbital craft, 'Buran.'

"You must congratulate the Soviets on what they have done," Abrahamson urged Tuesday [15 Nov] at a meeting with journalists. "I think this is a real achievement."

Pleasing words, it cannot be denied. But it became clear, however, from the further statements of the main proponent of SDI that he intends to exploit the fact of the appearance of a reusable spacecraft in the Soviet Union to make further headway with pushing through the program to militarize space. The existence of the 'Energiya-Buran' space rocket transport system, the general went on to lament, will allow the Soviet Union to rapidly construct a space-based ABM system.

What conclusion is to be drawn from this? Only one—the United States and also its NATO allies must go all out to speed up the SDI program in order to take the lead over the cunning Russians in this sphere.

A familiar tune. How many times, in an attempt to justify its militarist plans in the eyes of the American and world public, has Washington dusted down the hoary old myth of a "Soviet threat"! To all appearances, the same thing is happening all over again. Apparently, some people on the banks of the Potomac are seriously concerned that the current healthy process of the improvement of the international situation and the new political thinking that is forging a path for itself could cause SDI irreparable damage.

"Star Wars" supporters certainly now have good reason to stir themselves to save their progeny, which has come in for increasingly strong criticism of late. The reason is this. Whereas several years ago President Reagan talked of space defense as an absolutely reliable shield that will not only protect the Americans against nuclear attack but also render nuclear weapons pointless, now the U.S. capital prefers to keep quiet about this. On the contrary, as THE WASHINGTON POST has testified, in September U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci sent a report to Congress which directly emphasized that a space-based ABM system created within the SDI framework would be "designed to protect missile silos, bomber and submarine bases, and also the most important military communications centers."

In other words, it is now being admitted that the infamous space "shield" will certainly not replace nuclear weapons but supplement them, thereby considerably disturbing the present strategic parity.

...And so, the Soviet 'Buran' is being presented to the United States as "a threat." It is being implied that it will be used for military purposes in the same way that the Pentagon uses the American Shuttle system. But it seems to me that all fears on this score could be dispelled by moving away from Soviet-U.S. rivalry and toward Soviet-U.S. cooperation in the development of outer space. The Soviet Union has suggested this more than once. But no clear answer has yet been heard from Washington.

Air Force Secretary's Ties to Big Business Noted

PM2511144788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Yuriy Zhukov article: "Picture of Washington Mores. Communicating Vessels"]

[Text] Heard the news? Press agencies have reported that U.S. Secretary of the Air Force Edward Aldridge has handed in his resignation. So what? the reader will say—nothing out of the ordinary in that. President Reagan himself has recommended to 520 high-ranking officials in his administration, including all ministers, to resign from their posts so that his successor, Bush, can—as K. Roberts, a commentator with ABC-TV, put it—have the "opportunity to appoint his own candidates to high office." That may be so, but what is interesting is this: Where did Edward Aldridge come from when he took up his government post and where will he go to now?

Let us take a look at the service record of this high-ranking member of the Pentagon. This is what we discover. Before Edward Aldridge began working in the military department he worked in three military-industrial corporations, including one that everyone has heard of—McDonnell Douglas. Obviously, the prosperity of these corporations depends on orders from the Pentagon, which produce very substantial profits. Naturally, the leaders of these corporations were overjoyed when a place was found for their man in this department.

Aldridge spent 7 and ½ years with the Reagan administration. During this time, orders for the military monopolies and, in particular, for those which build ships and aircraft showered down, as if from the horn of plenty.

In the first 6 years alone of the Republican administration the Pentagon had $1.6 trillion at its disposal—more than in the previous 20 years put together. A considerable proportion of these resources was transferred to the safes of corporations engaged in the manufacture of aircraft and the development of space weapons, including the McDonnell Douglas monopoly, one of the top 10 Pentagon suppliers, from where Edward Aldridge came to Washington.

I can remind you, for example, that precisely at that time the Pentagon concluded a contract with this corporation to buy a whole consignment of F-15 fighter-bombers—"Strike Eagle"—which the previous, Carter administration had refused to acquire. The McDonnell Douglas corporation also has not done too badly out of preparations for "Star Wars"—according to the magazine FORTUNE, in the period 1983-1986 alone it secured "space" contracts worth $319 million.

It goes without saying that the military-industrial monopolies have been satisfied with the work of Edward Aldridge in the Pentagon. And now, when the prospect of arms cuts has begun to dawn on the horizon and people in Washington are saying that the new administration that comes to power in January 1989 wants the Departments of the Air Force, Navy, and Army to be headed by "new faces," old friends of the businessman who became secretary of the navy have raised the flag on their mast that says: "Go home."

A distinguished, lucrative position has been reserved for Edward Aldridge: He will head a new branch of the McDonnell Douglas corporation, which has retained its position as the Pentagon's biggest contractor. This branch will be responsible for producing electronic systems for the latest types of weapons. Naturally, the ties Aldridge has forged in government—primarily military—circles will help him to organize the successful sale of these products.

This is how the system of communicating vessels—as it is known among American journalists—works: Smart managers migrate from corporations to the Pentagon and back again, changing their positions but maintaining their loyalty to the dual clan which General Eisenhower named the military-industrial complex on leaving the post of president in 1961.

Denial of U.S. Visa to Union Delegation Scored

PM2411152788 Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 Nov 88 p 3

[I. Mikhaylov article: "Another Visa Refusal"]

[Text] In many spheres of activity relations between our country and the United States have visibly improved recently. Representatives of U.S. business circles, scientists, teachers, and journalists have become frequent guests in Moscow and many other Soviet cities. Many Soviet people have also visited the United States. Contacts between the two countries' specialists, which were difficult to even imagine several years ago, have started to be implemented successfully.

In the context of the positive changes the impediments and limitations created by the U.S. authorities for Soviet trade union delegations coming to the United States are annoying. The last instance occurred a week ago. A delegation from the medical workers' trade union was unable to take part in the U.S. Public Health Association's annual congress, held in Boston 13-17 November, because it did not receive entry visas.

The invitation which William MacBeth, the association's executive director, sent to L.I. Novak, chairman of the medical workers' trade union central committee, said in particular:

"There is no doubt that, at a time when Soviet-U.S. high-level relations are improving, it would be useful for us to strengthen and demonstrate once again the warm and fruitful relations between our two organizations for the good of peace and public health. The conference program this year is: "Technology and Public Health: Problems and Prospects"....

"Years of strong friendship," L.I. Novak said, "bind us to the U.S. Public Health Association; I myself am an honorary member of it. We take part in the association's congresses almost every year. Scientists and medical specialists have made up our delegations and have taken part in discussions on urgent public health problems. We had not experienced any difficulties with entry into the United States, although in February this year when our delegation intended to visit Alaska, special visas banning any contacts with U.S. trade unions were put in our delegation members' passports.

Smiling, Lidiya Ivanovna recalls: "I had to warn our U.S. trade union colleagues that they were not to approach us. They looked amazed at the entry in the passport banning our contacts with trade unions, and shrugged their shoulders, perplexed. Evidently, this was also a novelty for them.... To be honest, we are sorry

most of all for our U.S. friends who were waiting for us and wanted to discuss many problems of joint activity in the public health sphere, and to talk about the progress of restructuring in our society...."

Soviet and U.S. medical workers are taking an active part in joint research in the struggle against AIDS, drug addiction, and alcoholism and on the problems of family physicians' work, and are exchanging information. The medical workers' trade union has contributed a great deal in searching for and strengthening contacts between the two countries' medical workers.

As I was leaving, I asked Lidiya Ivanovna Novak whether there had been instances when for any reason U.S. trade union delegations had been refused visas for the Soviet Union. There had never been such an instance.

The U.S. authorities' decision to prevent Soviet trade union delegations from entering the United States looks like one of the old stereotypes from the sad past in our relations. Citing the immigration law adopted in 1952 at the height of the "cold war," the U.S. State Department with surprising obstinacy refuses to change its position. For the people on whom contacts between the two countries' trade unions depend, time has evidently stopped at 1952.

This is also difficult to understand if one examines this visa policy in the knowledge of President R. Reagan's speeches repeatedly calling for expanding and strengthening contacts between U.S. and Soviet people. Even before the U.S. President's arrival in our country, in his television address to the Soviet people made 2 years ago, he stated in particular: "One of the best ways to mutual understanding is to give the U.S. and Soviet people the opportunity to get to know each other better.... If both countries' peoples can visit each other, and study and work together, we will strengthen the bonds of mutual understanding and we will create a real basis for lasting peace." But people need to be given at least a visa to be able to visit each other. But it turns out that the President's noble appeals are one thing, and the State Department's discriminatory visa policy is something else. As a result the delegation from the medical workers' trade union became the fourth Soviet trade union delegation to be refused a visa by the U.S. authorities this year.

China

Commentator Views Soviet-Chinese Relations

LD2511163588 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—By TASS commentator Mikhail Yakovlev:

Economic and political processes in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have been substantially expedited by recent steps to normalize relations between the two neighboring nations.

The alienation and even hostility between them are receding into the past, while trust is growing stronger, traditional friendship recovering lost ground and mutually advantageous cooperation gathering momentum.

The first steps on the road were taken in the early'80s in trade and economic fields. From 1981 to 1986 bilateral trade grew ten-fold to reach 1,822 million rubles.

Between last January and August it was nearly 30 per cent up on the same period of last year.

New trends are showing in cooperation in research and engineering where the two countries are going over from get-acquainted trips by scientists and specialists to long-term interaction.

The festival of Soviet science and technology in China in the first half of this month has been an important event, the first such festival in the history of relations between the two countries.

A similar Chinese festival and an accompanying exhibition will be organized in Moscow next year.

Broad prospects are opening up for cooperation in education and culture. A bilateral seminar planned for 1989 on Soviet and Chinese experience in higher education reform will be a significant event in this field.

The interests of building socialism in the two countries urgently require that they go farther than traditional contacts and look for new forms of cooperation.

The 3rd meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Commercial, Scientific and Technological Cooperation last summer has been a noticeable step forward along this path.

Apart from accords on traditional forms of cooperation, documents signed there have included intergovernmental agreements on principles for launching and operating Soviet-Chinese joint ventures and on forming and developing direct trade and economic links between individual enterprises and organizations at different levels.

This is what Mikhail Gorbachev has meant in his Krasnoyarsk speech when declaring Soviet readiness to come to terms on organizing joint farming operations with the Chinese side in the Amur and Chita regions and the Maritime Territory and on the building of civilian facilities there on the basis of reciprocity.

Statesmen and public figures have been forming contacts in practically every field over recent years at ever higher levels.

Exchanges of visits by deputy heads of government of the two countries have been regular since december 1984. Meetings between the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers during U.N. General Assembly sessions are also becoming regular.

An understanding was reached during the last such session to exchange visits at foreign minister level. The first visit by a Chinese foreign minister to Moscow in almost four decades will take place early next month. A wide range of issues is to be discussed during the visit.

Political consultations on bilateral and crucial international issues have been held on a regular basis as well. Twelve rounds of such consultations have already been held.

There have been three rounds of talks on border issues and it has proved possible to make certain progress there.

Facts demonstrate that there are prerequisites for substantial shifts to normalizing political relations and launching full-scale dialogue between the two countries, a dialogue historically geared to friendship, cooperation and mutual understanding between the two great socialist nations.

Considering the fact that the sphere of disagreements is shrinking and the obstacles in the way of a normalization are crumbling, this goal is feasible.

But it is hardly worth idealizing Soviet-Chinese relations. The Soviet side does not close its eyes to differences in approaches and on individual problems.

It does not see them, however, as fatefuly inevitable.

If both sides act in a spirit of new thinking, showing goodwill and applying mutual effort, it is possible to find ways of overcoming the existing differences. The USSR has repeatedly stressed its readiness to discuss them with China most seriously anytime and at any level.

The same readiness, they declare in Beijing, is being demonstrated by the Chinese side.

The forthcoming arrival of Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Moscow and the return trip to China next year by his Soviet opposite number reflect the desire of both countries to rise to a higher level of political dialogue and will mark major steps along the path of cooperation and goodneighborliness followed by both nations.

A positive outcome of these visits will make it possible to prepare the ground for a Soviet-Chinese summit which is probably not too far away. A complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations meets the fundamental interests of the people of the Soviet Union and China, who are involved in the historic work of renewal in their countries, and the interests of world peace.

Trade Representative on Beijing Science Fair

OW2111153388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] In the next few minutes, let us talk about the Soviet science and technology fair, which closed in Beijing on 16 November. The fair was the heart of the Soviet Science Festival in China. Some 3,000 products on exhibit introduced to Chinese visitors Soviet achievement in every scientific and technological field. However, the fair, which was the largest since the establishment of relations between the two countries, was not merely to show Soviet achievement; it also has a commercial aspect. Glebov, our special correspondent in Beijing, talked with (Budakov), a representative of the All-Union Overseas Trading Corporation.

The following is a report on the interview read by our announcer.

Answering a question raised by our reporter on the business nature of the science and technology fair, (Budakov) said: Chinese foreign trade organizations showed clear interest in the exhibits provided by Soviet companies. Talks were held between metallurgical, mining, electrical, electronics, and space departments, for example. [words indistinct], talks were also held on other cooperative projects with China.

Regarding the specifics of the cooperative projects, (Budakov) said: There were many proposals, such as establishing Soviet-Chinese joint ventures. A thorough study of such possibilities was suggested. For example, a proposal was made to establish a joint venture for vegetable and fruit processing. Another proposal was made on the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese farm. Other proposals include the establishment of joint ventures for the manufacturing of machine tools, metal cutting equipment, and metallurgical industrial equipment. The Chinese experts showed strong interest in jointly manufacturing engines for large trucks. We also discussed the possibility of establishing joint ventures for platform manufacturing, ore processing, and waste material processing. Generally speaking, the fair has pointed to the broad prospects for fruitful cooperation with our Chinese partners.

Regarding his impression on Chinese representatives at the trade talks and meetings, (Budakov) said: The Chinese experts we met or talked with at the science fair are people strong in their professional fields, friendly, and good at dealing with people. Many of them studied in the Soviet Union in the fifties. Some of them met with their

old classmates who studied in the same classes or even shared a dormitory with them. Actually, all the people we met at the science fair are optimistic about the future of Soviet-Chinese relations. They pointed out that the bilateral relations will develop and strengthen with the passing of time, as the peoples of the two countries all seek to improve and strengthen these ties.

AUCCTU's Klochkov Holds Talks in Beijing

PM2311162988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Nov 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Sukhotin report: "Important Questions Are Discussed"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Nov—A Soviet trade union delegation led by I.Ye. Klochkov, secretary of the AUCCTU, is in the PRC on a working visit. Ni Zhifu, chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, received the delegation. He informed his Soviet colleagues about the work of the 11th All-China Trade Union Congress and the progress of the political and economic transformations in China.

The sides discussed prospects for and specific questions of cooperation between Soviet and Chinese trade unions and stressed the necessity for its further development.

The Soviet delegation members also held talks with Zhang Fuyou, secretary of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, at which they informed each other in detail of the restructuring and reforms in the two countries' trade union organizations.

Kazakh-Xinjiang Barter Agreement Signed

OW2511221488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] The economic and trade ties between China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and the Soviet Union's Kazakh Republic are expanding. The Chinese delegation, which concluded its visit to the Kazakh Republic on 22 November, signed a mutual benefit barter agreement between the department stores of Kazakhstan and Xinjiang.

A Kazakhstan delegation will visit China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in December to examine varieties of Chinese commodities and sign corresponding documents.

U.S., Bush Policy Toward Taiwan Viewed

OW2711020788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Dear friends: This week two news reports from China caught the attention of our station's commentator Klesnov. The two reports both concern one of the most urgent issues of the People's Republic of China since its founding: the reunification of the country, of which Klesnov writes in the following short article.

According to reports, the Chinese Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Seventh Congress, which ended in Beijing, paid special attention to the reunification of China. Delegates to the congress opposed two Chinas, one China and one Taiwan, and the independence of Taiwan. Instead, they supported a proposal by the Communist Party of China that the CPC hold talks with Taiwan's leadership to achieve peaceful reunification of the motherland.

At about the same time, the latest issue of the BEIJING REVIEW [Vol 31, No 47, 21-27 Nov 1988] carries an article by Fei Xiaotong, a famous sociologist and vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee. In the article, he calls upon U.S. President-elect George Bush to urge Taiwan to return to China. Fei Xiaotong writes: Until now, the United States has only given verbal support to the reunification of China. It is time for the United States to begin to take effective action. The noted Chinese activist expresses the hope that Bush, who will be formally sworn in as President in January of next year, will take effective steps to help reunite the island of Taiwan with mainland China.

China has made the same request of Bush's predecessors. The United States, while suggesting ways to reunite China, has done exactly the opposite—maintained the division of China. That the United States continues to provide the Taipei regime with military aid and modern military technology for making weapons bears this out. There is an influential group in the United States that advocates the independence of Taiwan. [words indistinct]

President-elect Bush is a political activist who is very familiar with China's politics. During 1974-1975, when the United States still officially recognized the Taiwan regime and the legitimate government in China, Bush headed his country's diplomatic mission in China.

We will see in the future if China's hopes regarding the president-elect can be fulfilled.

Near East & South Asia

Soviet, Rebel Representatives Meet in Pakistan

LD2711121288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1158 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Islamabad, 27 Nov (TASS)—The first meeting was held here today between representatives of the USSR Embassy in Pakistan and of the Afghan armed opposition. They discussed the return of Soviet servicemen seized in Afghanistan by the opposition forces.

'Counterrevolutionary' Coup Fails in Qandahar

PM2611192488 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General Muhammad Anwar, chief of a directorate of the Afghan Army General Staff, by our Kabul correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "Plot Failed"—date, place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] It has been reported from Qandahar that as a result of treason by high-ranking officers of Afghan military counterintelligence, there was an attempted coup. The plot failed thanks to the vigilance of Afghan Army officers and men and their courage and staunchness.

Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik, our correspondent in Kabul, asked Major General Muhammad Anwar, chief of a directorate of the Afghan Army General Staff, to tell us about the details of this action. This is what he said:

[Anwar] Qandahar has always held a special place in the criminal plans of the counterrevolution. And this is no accident. The former capital of ancient Afghanistan has long occupied a strategic position in the country.

The situation deteriorated particularly in Qandahar after the withdrawal of units of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from there in early August under the Geneva agreements. Several times extremists tried to seize the administrative center of the province and the airfield by force of arms, and they cut off the main roads leading to Qandahar. But all the attempts failed—units of the 2d Army Corps and other Afghan Army subunits successfully rebuffed the opposition's counterattacks. Many of its formations were routed. An airlift is in constant operation between Kabul and Qandahar, whereby Afghan transport aircraft deliver bread, essential goods, and medical supplies to the province.

However, the most extremist section of the opposition did not give up the attempt to sieze power in Qandahar. Today some 400 bandit formations are concentrated here, totaling more than 20,000 men. They have undergone military training under the leadership of foreign military advisers in training camps on Pakistani territory. A control center for the combat operations of the armed opposition in the "South" zone has been set up in the Tiraygar [as transliterated] Mountains 60 km southeast of Qandahar, with the active participation of foreign military advisers from Pakistan, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and France.

On the night of 21-22 November Colonel Muhammad, chief of the corps military counterintelligence, who had gone over to the opposition, together with Colonel Rakhmatulla [as transliterated], chief of the 15th Infantry Division counterintelligence, and several other officers, tried to get rebel detachments numbering some 400 men into the governor's offices and the corps headquarters. The traitors had decided to take advantage of the absence of the governor general, Lieutenant General N. Olyumi [as transliterated], first deputy defense minister of the Republic of Afghanistan and at the same time commander of the 2d Army Corps, and certain other generals and provincial leaders belonging to the Defense Council. But the plot failed. It failed because the majority of Afghan military counterintelligence staffers remained loyal to the people's power.

The main rebel forces were successfully routed the night fighting broke out. More than 100 people were killed and a large quantity of ammunition and weapons seized. The remaining rebels managed to conceal themselves and retreat to Arghandab District. The traitors Muhammad and Rakhmatulla fled with them. A commission headed by Lieutenant General Issaluddin Isam [as transliterated], deputy chief of the Republic of Afghanistan Ministry of State Security, has now left for Qandahar to investigate this counterrevolutionary act.

Afghan Foreign Ministry on AN-26 Downing

LD2611172788 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 26 Nov 88

[All names as received]

[Text] Kabul November 26 TASS—The downing of a transport plane with passengers aboard it demonstrated afresh the Pakistani authorities' unwillingness to restore goodneighbourly relations with the Republic of Afghanistan, Muhammad Nabi Amani, a spokesman for the Afghan Foreign Ministry, said at a news conference today.

Speakers at the news conference included Major-General 'Abdul Fatah Rahimi, commander of the Afghan Air Force, and Major-General Abdul Haq, head of the Armed Forces Radar Service. They told local and foreign journalists about the circumstances of the flight of the AN-26 aircraft, that ended tragically.

The Antonov which was on a regular flight carrying 22 passengers, among them women and children, took off from Kabul Airport at 19:07 local time on November 19. Aproximately half an hour later it approached the final point of its flight—the city of Jalalabad. At this moment its navigation system and radio communication failed. The pilots dared not land the plane blindfolded—in the darkness, amid low cloudiness, and without the help of airport services. After descending, the AN-26 began to gain height once again and then started moving toward the Pakistani border without having a chance to choose the course correctly. There was no help from the land as the aircraft did not receive radio messages. At 19:50 it crossed the border, was inside the radar vision for a minute and then disappeared. The Afghan aircraft, which was used exclusively for civilian purposes, was downed by a ground-to-air missile of the Pakistani anti-aircraft forces.

The action by the Pakistani authorities cannot be qualified otherwise than the one running counter to international law standards, Amani noted. The plane flying at a relatively low speed cannot be taken for a fighter or an attack aircraft. Besides, the plane issued distress signals which is recorded on the tape. It would have been natural for the Pakistani command to send jet fighters to intercept the intruder plane, which would force it to land at the nearest airport. An investigation could then be launched. But this was not done and 28 innocent people became new victims of Islamabad's anti-Afghan policy, the Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman noted.

Afghan Envoy Denies Rift With Najibullah

LD2511171088 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—The new Afghan ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, Sayyed Muhammad Ghulabzoy, has denied the Voice of America's claims that his departure to this country has been due to disagreements between himself and President Najibullah.

Ghulabzoy, who is a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), was commenting on the V.O.A. report in a TASS interview.

The report alleged also that Ghulabzoy and 100 of his supporters had been sent to the Soviet Union to undergo refresher military training.

"Considering close and friendly relations between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the leadership of Afghanistan has decided that the ambassador to the USSR should be one of the members of the government," Ghulabzoy explained.

"This is why I have been appointed to serve as Afghan ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Moscow. This is my only mission in the Soviet Union," added the ambassador, who presented his credentials today to Anatoly Lukyanov, an alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first vice-president of the Presidium of the Soviet Parliament.

Noting popular backing in his country to the national reconciliation policy pursued by the government and the PDPA, Ghulabzoy said: "I fully support the national reconciliation policy followed by President Najibullah and will implement it out in my post as ambassador to the Soviet Union."

"As to assertions about my disagreements with the Afghan president, I would like to stress that he and I are bound not only by common views and many years of work in the party but also by a long-standing personal friendship," he added.

Helminen Denies Soviet Violation of Accords

LD2511145488 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 25 Nov 88

["Moscow and Kabul Stand for the Geneva Agreements"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—By TASS political commentator Yuriy Kornilov:

Major-General Rauli Helminen, head of the group of U.N. observers in Afghanistan and Pakistan, has denied, speaking in Helsinki, the alleged reinforcement of Soviet troops in Pakistan. [sentence as received] He stressed that U.N. observers "have not registered any signs of Soviet violations of the Geneva Agreements." This is extra proof that the USSR approaches the Afghan problem in its usual principled and consistent way. What is the crux of this Soviet line? Moscow and Kabul believe the "Geneva package" should be scrupulously and fully fulfilled, because it paves the way to a just settlement of the Afghan problem, shows clearly that any regional conflagration can be extinguished given political goodwill of the sides concerned.

This course is fully in keeping with the political moods predominant in the international community today. It is pertinent to recall in this context the recently published annual report to the U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar on the organization's activities. Today, the report stresses, there are absolutely obvious opportunities to establish peace in conflictual areas through U.N. efforts. It also stresses that the conclusion of Geneva Agreements this April was a major step towards a peaceful settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

The peace-loving states and the international community as a whole have assessed the "Geneva package" as a "major step forward." The more disturbing in this connection is the fact that the enemies of normalisation, entrenched above all in Islamabad, are continuing their efforts to step up interference in the affairs of sovereign Afghanistan, are striving to undermine the Geneva Accords. Arms deliveries to the armed opposition are being continued, while units of the so-called "irreconcilables" are carrying on operations against the lawful authorities, not stopping before acts of terror. This week the list of their crimes has been further extended. On November 19th the Pakistani anti-aircraft forces fired a ground-to-air missile at an Afghan AN-26 transport plane with 22 civilians on board and shot it down. Another report, received here, says that the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," based in Pakistan, was supplied with highly toxic substances which are being "tested" on Soviet and Afghan prisoners-of-war....

Noteworthy is the fact that Pakistani and U.S. circles, which support and arm the extremists, thereby prodding them on to ever new acts of vandalism and violence, continue to declare their alleged "allegiance to the Geneva agreements," putting the blame for their violations

on Moscow and Kabul. Some Islamabad officials would not mind using the United Nations forum to spread ill-designed allegations intended to lay the blame for their crimes on the other side. These attempts are absolutely futile.

However, and this should be reaffirmed once more, there can never be a situation in which one party to the Geneva agreements would scrupulously adhere to them, while the other would openly trample them underfoot. A genuine political settlement of the problem requires strict and complete observance of these agreements by all the parties involved in the conflict. Those who continue to violate the "Geneva package" behind the smokescreen of provocative concoctions assume a grave, very grave responsibility, indeed, before their own peoples and world public opinion in general.

POW Rally Held Outside Pakistani Embassy

PM2511154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 8

[P. Studenkin report: "Fate of POW's: The Details"]

[Text] A rally was held outside the Pakistani Embassy in Moscow yesterday in which internationalist servicemen from various parts of the country and parents and relatives of Soviet MIA's in Afghanistan took part. It was not a protest rally. The participants were concerned with the fate of POW's and asked Pakistani Embassy officials to support the efforts of the Soviet and world public to secure the release of our servicemen. The participants were informed that the rally was authorized and the relevant organizations had been apprised of it.

"For that reason," said Yuriy Zobnin, a participant in the rally who had served in Afghanistan, "the statement made by Iona Andronov, Soviet representative on the international committee for the release of Soviet servicemen held prisoner in Afghanistan—which was not, frankly, very restrained in its form—was a complete surprise to many of us. He reported that 'functionaries' had banned the rally and that internationalist servicemen must 'take' everything into their own hands, for no one was going to work to release our boys if they did not. He therefore resigned from the committee, it is said, as a sign of protest...."

What exactly happened?

That was the opening question of the press conference organized by APN for Soviet and foreign journalists and representatives of the Soviet public coordinating committee for the release of Soviet servicemen held prisoner in Afghanistan and members of the international committee delegation from the United States.

It turned out the rally had not actually been banned by anyone. The day before, a general assembly of representatives of the two committees had made the decision not to participate in the rally in order not to hamper in any way the talks with Pakistani Embassy officials on the issuing of visas to them for a trip to Peshawar for talks on the fate of POW's....

Numerous questions by journalists regarding the measures taken to release Soviet servicemen were answered by V. Mariy, executive secretary of the coordinating committee, and B. Farber and B. Mandelbaum, delegates of the international committee.

Journalists were briefed on the "Appeal to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan" adopted at a joint session of the committees, which says: "...We, the representatives of two public committees, note that the government of Pakistan has not yet responded to our committees' request for permission to visit the Pakistani city of Peshawar to discuss this problem. We call on the Pakistani leadership to extend immediate assistance to us in this matter and to help organize this goodwill mission. We appeal to the new leadership of Pakistan...."

Participants in the press conference expressed the hope that the efforts of all who are working for the return home of our servicemen held prisoner will not be fruitless.

International POW Committee Arrives in Moscow

LD2111022888 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

The Aeroflot plane en route from New York was an hour late but this circumstance did not cool the ardour of journalists who gathered at Sheremetyevo International Airport today to meet the delegation of the International Committee for the Rescue of Russian Prisoners of War in Afghanistan. Rabbi Mernard Mandelbaum opened a news conference held at the airport right after the delegation's arrival.

We Americans arrived in Moscow to share our experience, to listen to you and work with you, he said. We are confident that the voice of Soviet people will help return more than 300 Soviet prisoners of war held by the armed opposition in Afghanistan and Pakistan more than the actions by various representatives. One of the fundamental human rights is the right to unify with the family.

On November 24, the delegation, which is composed of Barry Farber, a well-known radio commentator, M. Harter, Catholic priest, and Iona Andronov, a Soviet journalist, intends to come to the Pakistani Embassy in Moscow to call upon all people of good will in Pakistan and the new Pakistani Government to help return home Soviet young people who were taken prisoner. We want justice, love and mercy to triumph, Mandelbaum said.

Farber noted that during the Second World War Soviet and American people fought the common enemy. The photo of the Soviet military leaders who took part in the war—Georgiy Zhukov, Semen Timoshenko and others—still hangs in my home. Experience shows that both people stand to gain from mutual coooperation. I think we will rejoice with you when Soviet lads will return home from prison, he said.

Akhromeyev Greeted on Return From Algeria

PM2811094388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, has ended his official friendly visit to Algeria.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev left for home today. He was seen off at the international airport by General K. Nezzar, chief of staff of the National People's Army, those in command of various forces of the National People's Army of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, and other officals.

V.N. Taratuta, USSR ambassador to Algeria, was also among those seeing him off.

On the same day Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev arrived in Moscow.

He was greeted at the airport by Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General V.M. Arkhipov and Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; and other generals and officers.

The welcoming party included R. Suibes [name as transliterated], Algerian charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Soviet Jews To Emigrate to Israel via Cyprus

JN2611145888 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I in Arabic 24 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] AL-ITTIHAD has learned that the Soviet Union has agreed to allow Soviet Jews to immigrate to Israel through Cyprus following an agreement signed recently among the three countries and which is being implemented in full secrecy.

Very well-informed sources in Nicosia have told AL-ITTIHAD that, according to this agreement, groups of Soviet Jews are now being flown by the Soviet airlines, Aeroflot, to Larnaca Airport on three flights per week. These sources added that an Israeli team receives the immigrants in Nicosia to review their documents and issue them with Israeli travel documents before transporting them to Tel Aviv.

East Europe

PZPR Delegation Visits Kiev on Cooperation

Czyrek Heads Delegation

AU2411152188 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 16 Nov 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "A PZPR Central Committee Delegation Arrives in Kiev"]

[Text] A delegation of the PZPR Central Committee, headed by J. Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, arrived in Kiev on 15 November. At Borispol airport the guests were welcomed by B.V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Kiev Gorkom first secretary; A.V. Merkulov, department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; and R. Polkowski, consul general of the Polish People's Republic in Kiev.

On the same day the members of the delegation laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin. Wreaths were laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Park of Eternal Glory and at the tombs of Polish and Soviet soldiers who died while defending the capital city of the Ukraine against the fascist air attack and who were buried at Darnitsa Cemetery.

In the evening the guest were present at a show in the Ukrainian SSR T.H. Shevchenko State Academic Opera and Ballet House.

Shcherbitskiy, Czyrek Sign Document

AU2311190188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Nov 88 pp 1, 3

[RATAU report: "A Program for Cooperation Has Been Signed"]

[Text] V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, and J. Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, who was in the Ukrainian SSR at the head of a PZPR Central Committee delegation invited by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, signed a program for cooperation between the PZPR and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee headquarters on 17 November. The program resulted from the accords reached during M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic.

The document calls on party organizations and state organs to systematically exchange experiences and provides for the further development of economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation, primarily by establishing direct contacts among associations, enterprises, and scientific institutions, and by stimulating barter in the frontier zone. Joint efforts are to be made to expand cultural exchanges and to tighten the links among creative unions, trade union, youth, and other public organizations, as well as the mass media. The sides will promote tourist exchanges and mutual visits by citizens in response to private invitations.

Those present at the signing ceremony were, on the Soviet side: I.G. Grintsov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, B.V. Kachura, A.A. Titarenko, and V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members; S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, and K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate members; and, on the Polish side, W. Natorf, PZPR Central Committee member and ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the USSR; J. Gajewicz, PZPR Central Committee member and first secretary of Krakow Voivodship PZPR Committee; T. Sawic, Culture Department chief in the PZPR Central Committee; S. Nowicki and J. Zielinski, first secretaries of Przemysl and Katowice PZPR Voivodship Committees, respectively; and R. Polkowski, consul general of the Polish People's Republic in Kiev.

In an interview for Soviet and Polish press after signing the cooperation program, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said:

I suppose that we have the right to congratulate each other on signing the first and, in this sense, historic document initiating cooperation between the Ukrainian Communist Party and PZPR Central Committees. This document and the work which we will carry out to implement it will help to further deepen the fraternal relations between the CPSU and the PZPR, between our countries and peoples.

The document we have signed is a direct result of the accords reached during M.S. Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the fraternal country, and of his talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski and other leaders of the Polish People's Republic.

The adopted program is based on the proximity of the goals and tasks set for restructuring in our country, and for the policy of socialist renewal in Poland. In our opinion, constant working contacts established at various levels between the Ukrainian SSR and the Polish People's Republic will in essence favorably affect all aspects of life in the two republics, and will be very important in bringing our peoples even closer together and in promoting Soviet-Polish relations.

Both in the program and during the exchanges of opinions, we made an effort to enhance new and advanced forms of cooperation—within the framework of the valid Soviet-Polish intergovernmental agreements, and by direct cooperation—between the councils of ministers, ministries, departments, and economic organizations in the Ukraine and in Poland. This is an important sector of our common work. After all, its success will help improve the lives of people in both countries.

The program has concretized our common aspiration to improve and deepen the exchanges of experiences in socialist construction, and to expand the practice of exchanging matters of intellectual value between the Ukrainian and the Polish peoples.

The implementation of this document, which is good in terms of its original idea and its content, is expected to bring our contacts to a new level, to expand the links among party committees and organs of the people's rule, to increase exchanges in the sphere of culture, and to expand contacts among people, particularly young people. In a word, all this will help us to sow and tend good crops in the broad field of cooperation and communication between our two neighboring peoples.

The joint document notes that a useful contribution can be made to friendly relations between our peoples by the Soviet citizens of Polish nationality living in the Ukraine, and by Ukrainian citizens of the Polish People's Republic. The sides will encourage the activity of their cultural and educational societies, and the study of the native language and culture.

In summing up, one can say that one more step has been made in the field of internationalist cooperation between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic, in the field of enriching the magnificent property of the Soviet and Polish peoples—the relations of friendship, brotherhood, and cooperation which we value highly and protect.

Let me take this opportunity to wish the fraternal Polish people success in socialist renewal, happiness, and prosperity.

J. Czyrek, leader of the PZPR Central Committee delegation, expressed cordial gratitude for the warm and friendly reception given to the members of the delegation in the Ukraine. The document which we have just signed, he emphasized, will undoubtedly bring us to a new, higher stage in expanding and strengthening relations between the PZPR and the CPSU, between the Polish People's Republic and the USSR, and between the peoples of our fraternal countries.

For 3 days we have had the opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the progress made by your republic in restructuring, to exchange opinions and experiences in the activity of the two parties, and to discuss the conditions of our bilateral cooperation. The talks at the

Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the meetings with labor collectives, and the conversations with scientists and students have enabled us to become even better acquainted with the problems connected with the application of the new methods of managing the economic mechanism, and with political reform. We have seen for ourselves the similarity of the phenomena currently taking place in our countries. In other words, the goals of your restructuring and of our renewal are identical.

The PZPR Central Committee attaches great importance to bilateral cooperation in all fields, and this will undoubtedly help to accomplish changes for the better in both countries. Of course this will also be facilitated by the signing of the program for cooperation between the PZPR and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees. This is the first and thus, as noted, historic document signed by our parties. At the same time, it reflects the reciprocal trends in Polish-Soviet relations drawn up in the declaration on cooperation in the field of ideology, culture, and science, as well as in the accords reached during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Poland.

We are not building our cooperation, J. Czyrek continued, without a foundation. Our goal is to promote and develop it even further and to engage Polish voivodships and Ukrainian oblasts even more widely in this. We have a common program to protect the monuments to Polish and Ukrainian history and culture, and for cooperation in various other spheres. Hundreds of Polish specialists have been trained in the Ukraine's higher educational establishments. In the republic there are 80 enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and scientific-technological institutions that maintain direct contacts with their Polish partners. There are many more examples of this kind.

The program we signed will contribute to strengthening and deepening the friendship between our peoples. It calls for a number of concrete measures to further exchange working experiences among party organizations, including the basic organizations, to boost their influence in various fields of cooperation aimed at expanding contacts among ideological institutions and the mass media, and strengthening cultural and tourist contacts. Our program provides for efforts to find new forms of contacts at various levels, and for reciprocal measures for Soviet citizens of Polish nationality and for Ukrainians living in Poland. We are convinced that the implementation of the program will make relations between the two fraternal countries and peoples even closer.

I would like to convey to our Ukrainian friends the most cordial wishes for success in public and private undertakings, in their work and lives.

Delegation Departs 18 Nov

AU2411152288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Nov 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "The PZPR Central Committee Delegation Ends Its Visit"]

[Text] On 18 November the PZPR Central Committee delegation headed by J. Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, left Kiev. The delegation was in the Ukrainian SSR at the invitation of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

At Borispol airport the visitors were seen off by B.V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, and A.B. Merkulov, department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. The farewell party also included W. Natorf, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the USSR, and R. Polkowski, consul general of the Polish People's Republic in Kiev.

Rakowski Cited on Overcoming Economic Crisis

PM2511170788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "M. Rakowski's Speech"]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Nov—The Polish Government intends to take vigorous and radical action to implement a genuine "breakthrough" in the economy's development, M. Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, has stressed.

Speaking at a session of the National Society for the Encouragement of Economic Initiatives, he also noted that in overcoming the crisis Poland should count only on its own forces.

It is very important to continue with our activity, the head of the government continued, because the country's economic situation, as before, leaves a great deal to be desired. Inflation is the greatest danger, and in its wake—the disappearance of many goods from the market, particularly consumer durables. The government will do everything possible to reduce the rate and halt the growth of inflation, although this task is not an easy one in the country's present situation.

M. Rakowski stressed that the draft laws "On Economic Activity" and "On Economic Activity With Foreign Participation" approved by the government, which will be submitted to the Polish Sejm in the very near future, will serve the aims of the economy's accelerated development.

Statement on Ukrainian-Slovak Cooperation

AU2211171988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Nov 88 p 1

["Statement on Further Expanding and Deepening Cooperation Between the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Guided by the aspiration to increase contributions to expanding and deepening Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in the interest of restructuring and democratization in the USSR and the CSSR,

And having examined the ways of establishing constant working contacts and links at various levels between the Ukrainian SSR and the Slovak Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Slovak National Council have agreed:

To maintain constant contacts between the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Slovak National Council; to help, by all means, to establish working contacts and deepen cooperation among soviets and their executive bodies at all levels, in order to exchange experiences in carrying out social, economic, cultural, educational, and other tasks;

To encourage and make more effective the expanding economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the Ukrainian SSR and the Slovak SR, both within the framework of the existing Soviet-Czechoslovak intergovernmental agreements, and by direct bilateral cooperation;

To encourage long-term cooperation in scientific research, including by forming joint collectives and international scientific and production associations in priority sectors that determine the acceleration of scientific-technological progress;

To promote the dynamic development of direct relations between cultural institutions and figures, to further search for possibilities of maximally broadening the participation of the public in cultural life, to advance democratization in the sphere of culture, and to make exchanges in this field more effective and concrete;

To encourage direct contacts among newspapers, journals, radio and television broadcasting services, in order to bring neighboring peoples closer together and to exchange experience in building socialism;

To promote the tighter relations among trade union, youth, and women's organizations, and among the branches of friendship societies, and to make these relations constant.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Slovak National Council commission the governments of their republics, as well as the appropriate ministries and departments of the Ukrainian SSR and the Slovak SR to draw up concrete measures to implement these accords.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and V. Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council

13 November 1988, the city of Kiev

West Europe

French President, Delegation Visit Soviet Union

Mitterrand Welcomed to Moscow

LD2511200288 Paris Domestic Service in French 1800 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Excerpts] This afternoon, Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed Francois Mitterrand to Moscow. [passage omitted] Over to one of our special correspondents in Moscow, Pierre Le Marc:

[Le Marc] [passage omitted] Francois Mitterrand was met on arrival by the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium [Anatoliy Lukyanov]. This was followed by the national anthems and a review of the troops. The official party then immediately left for Moscow and the Kremlin, where Mikhail Gorbachev was waiting for the head of state. The two men went to St. Catherine's Hall for private talks which lasted about 2 ½ hours. These talks were then widened to include the ministers taking part in the visit. On the agenda of their talks: disarmament, of course, and the area of conventional weapons—where the Soviets consider Mitterrand has come with some interesting ideas—and the elimination of chemical weapons, on which, it is being said, progress is being made. Mikhail Gorbachev then outlined for his guest his conception of Europe's common home. Regional conflicts—the Middle East, Cambodia—and bilateral economic cooperation were also discussed at length.

It is known that two very important agreements are going to be signed concerning Credit Lyonnais and Pechiney. These talks are expected to continue this evening during an official dinner, and another round of private talks will be held tomorrow before Francois Mitterrand flies off to Baykonur, where he will attend the launching of the rocket which will take Jean-Loup Chretien and his Soviet colleagues to the "Mir" orbital station.

Gorbachev, Mitterrand Meet, Talk

PM2811101988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report on meeting between Gorbachev and French President Mitterrand in the Kremlin 25 Nov, under the heading "Meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand."]

[Text] A meeting was held in the Kremlin 25 November between Mikhail Gorbachev and French President Francois Mitterand. It was a broad conceptual, and at the same time concrete, discussion between two leaders who have known each other for a long time, which took place in an atmosphere of amicability, openness, and mutual trust.

Because Francois Mitterrand is heading for Baykonur, where he will attend the launching of the spaceship with the Soviet-French crew, both men stressed that in pioneering long joint flights in near-earth space, the Soviet Union and France are making a notable contribution towards cultivating effective international cooperation in the most important and promising fields of human activity. Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand expressed the hope that the flight will be successful and will symbolize the new stage now beginning in the development of Soviet-French cooperation.

In this connection, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that space must remain peaceful and be an arena precisely for peaceful cooperation. Francois Mitterrand was in complete agreement with this. If things are moving in the direction of disarmament, he noted, there is no need for superarmament. The Soviet Union's achievements in space, particularly the recent successful "Buran" flight, and the work being done by France with the "Ariane" missile, show, continued the president, just how much can be achieved by uniting efforts in the peaceful research of near-earth space. Taking this into consideration, France has come out against official participation in military undertakings in space.

The interlocutors noted that the present meeting is a continuation of the dialogue fruitfully begun by them in 1985.

At the time, said Mikhail Gorbachev, we correctly charted a path and the prospects for Franco-Soviet relations. It is a pity that after that we met rarely. Supporting this thought, Francois Mitterrand expressed a desire not only to continue but also to step up the interaction of the leaders of the two countries. It was agreed from now on to hold regular, once-a-year Soviet-French summit meetings, and also to have more frequent contacts between the two countries' ministers of foreign affairs.

What is our position in Europe and the world? Where are we heading, and how should we act and cooperate? This question was discussed as part of a conceptual analysis of the development of events since the last meeting between the two leaders.

Francois Mitterrand said that thanks, in large measure, to the efforts of the Soviet Union and Mikhail Gorbachev personally, mankind had begun to move toward a more peaceful period, when it will be able to devote more attention to economic and social progress, and renounce prestige military projects. At the same time it is also moving toward a more unified world. This is a vast process, the complexities of which should not be underestimated. But it can progress if disarmament negotiations make successful headway, and the success of economic and social development of all countries of the world community also promotes progress in the sphere of people's freedom. Thme question now, said the president, is what should be done to ensure the success of these processes.

Agreeing with Francois Mitterrand's conclusions, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that it is particularly important now to take a broad view of things. We are indeed moving toward a more peaceful period, although not as rapidly as we would like. This is taking place above all because of a profound desire among peoples to change the world for the better, to learn peaceful cohabitation, to learn to cooperate. The sentiments of the masses have begun to be transformed into policies.

Hence, we now see the progress in the disarmament field, the improvement in USSR-U.S. relations, and the movement of states toward meeting each other in Europe. The shoots of new relations are sprouting here on this old, wise continent, which has at its disposal enormous experience and a common cultural possession that is invaluable, and which, at the same time, is burdened by common misfortunes and anxieties. In other words, joining objective requirements with the will of the peoples and changes of a philosophical kind in the minds of politicians leads to a transformation of the world.

Indeed, Mikhail Gorbachev continued, we are moving forward toward a more united, more interlinked world. At the same time, however, every people and every country remains attached to its own values, to its culture, and to its traditions. The fact that the world is interlinked is also shown in the existence of threats that are common to the whole of mankind—the military, the ecological and other threats—and also in the fact that there are common requirements—for example, requirements for the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution to be mastered, in the interests of the peoples and for the development of everyone. If in their policies, states demonstrate in a real way that they are devoted to the freedom of choice of the peoples, if they free themselves from the idea that some exist on earth by the will of God, whilst others came here by chance, then

the development of the world along the road of cooperation and realization of the advantages of objectively conditioned interdependence will accelerate. On the present occasion, I do not wish to use the word "restructuring," but I am convinced that a renewal of international relations is needed now.

Those taking part in the conversation singled out a common conclusion: In order to move further successfully, it is essential to develop everything positive that has already manifested itself of late, and primarily continue the talks process that has been started. What is needed, said Mikhail Gorbachev, is a deepened dialogue, but a dialogue that is characterized not by confrontation but by striving toward mutual accords, not by an exchange of reproaches, but by a comparison of new ideas.

Such a dialogue engenders trust, and trust is becoming a factor for progress in all spheres. The Soviet Union, stressed Mikhail Gorbachev, values the dialogue with France and its president. France's experience and its high level of political culture are an indispensable factor for the formation of new relations in the modern world.

An in-depth exchange of thoughts on European topics took place. You put forward the idea of a common European home, said President Mitterrand. A fine formulation! But it can only be translated into practice as a result of building up contacts, exchanges, and developing the potential of cooperation. And, of course, it should be a matter of ensuring the stability and sufficiency of defense potentials and of establishing military equilibrium at the lowest possible levels. In this context, the integrational processes that are gathering force, embracing practicaally the whole of Europe, must also be taken into consideration. The establishment of official relations between the CEMA and EEC was a reflection of this factor. The idea expressed by Francois Mitterrand on the desirability of Soviet involvement in the "Eureka" project goes in the same direction.

Mikhail Gorbachev agreed with the president's approach to the prospects for and directions of European cooperation. I can see, he said, that in this context we can actively cooperate with France. The main thing is to expand exchanges. Europe has at its disposal a vast intellectual, economic, and cultural potential and great resources. If all this is united, it will enable the continent to reach a new level of development. Europe must have, and will have, its own face; it must and will play its part in world politics.

At the same time, however, one must also bank on an internationalization of dialogue.

In the international arena, there are many players, and not one of them should remain in the wings or in a back seat as far as world politics is concerned. In these real conditions, the role of the UN organization and of other forms of collective examination and resolution of existing problems grows particularly.

The conversation confirmed the similarity between the priorities of the USSR and France at the present stage in the disarmament process. Both were of the opinion that the signing, at the beginning of 1989, of an agreement on reducing the strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States, while observing the ABM treaty, remains a central task.

President Mitterrand noted that France will take part in the talks on strategic offensive armaments at a certain stage in the talks when perceptible progress has been achieved. Mikhail Gorbachev, the president continued, is putting forward the idea of a world without nuclear weapons. It is a romantic idea! But if it is realized, it will be wonderful. Of course, the solution of the present task will require herculean effort.

Mikhail Gorbachev stated that the Soviet Union intends to preserve continuity in the talks with the United States. This is in the common interests of all. As we unfold our work in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, we have no intention whatsoever of building any intrigues against the United States, although that is what they sometimes say there. To act in such a way would mean following the old stereotypes. We have a large reserve of constructiveness. We see the possibility of reaching a treaty on a 50-percent- reduction in strategic offensive armaments in 1989. Of course, there are difficulties; primarily, these concern observance of the ABM Treaty and sea-based cruise missiles. There are other issues, too, but all of them are resolvable, in principle.

It was stressed further that the Soviet Union and France attach prime attention to the problem of reducing troops and conventional armaments in Europe.

On a practical level, as it seems to the Soviet side, talks about conventional disarmament and further measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe can be started with the participation of foreign ministers immediately after the work of the Vienna meeting is completed. Some time after this, it would be expedient to hold a meeting of heads of state and governments of all the European countries, of the United States; and of Canada. We consider, Mikhail Gorbachev said, that this idea does not contradict the French proposal to review the state of affairs in talks 2 years after their start, but complements it. Experience has shown, the Soviet leader noted, that talks on matters of principal—especially in the sphere of disarmament—are successful when they are given impetus at the highest or at a high political level.

Francois Mitterrand, having agreed with this, said that the problem of reducing conventional weapons and the elimination of the imbalances that have accumulated in

Europe occupies the foremost position in the European policy of France. The French side ardently hopes that talks on the essence of these matters begin as soon as possible.

Naturally, much attention was given to matters of bilateral Soviet-French relations. On both sides, it was stressed that in past years a considerable amount had already been undertaken, but that the existing possibilities, especially in the sphere of economic links, are not yet being fully utilized. It is necessary to arrange more active cooperation, to work together more, the president said. Several new ideas were discussed concerning economic joint action and cooperation in the sphere of protecting the environment.

It was agreed that by the time Mikhail Gorbachev visits Paris next year, all these and other ideas will be studied by the sides specifically in such a way that the next Soviet-French summit meeting will not only become a new stage in the development of the political dialogue, but will also be marked by weighty, specific steps in the development of relations between the two countries and peoples.

The French president talked about how the 200th anniversary of the great French Revolution will be celebrated in France. Mikhail Gorbachev said that in the USSR, this date will also be marked widely and on a broad scale. First of all we wish to give its due to this revolution and the role it played in the history of our civilization. And of course, we will make use of this occasion in order to express our feelings of respect for the French people and France.

At the end of the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand expressed satisfaction over its content and again confirmed deep mutual interest in comprehensively broadening spheres of cooperation between France and the USSR.

The one-to-one conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand lasted for more than 2 hours. Then they were joined by the ministers: members of the official French delegation and their Soviet colleagues. Taking part in the conversation on the Soviet side were:

Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister;

Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers;

Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers;

Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers;

Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences;

Erlen Pervyshin, USSR Minister of the Communications Equipment Industry;

Yakov Ryabov, Soviet ambassador to France; and other officials.

Taking part in the conversation on the French side were:

Roland Dumas, foreign minister;

Pierre Beregovoy, minister of state for economy, finance and budget;

Roger Fauroux, minister of industry and regional development;

Henri Nallet, minister of agriculture and forestry;

Paul Quiles, minister of posts, telecommunications and space research;

Hubert Curien, minister of research and technology;

Jean-Marie Rausch, minister of foreign trade;

Yves Pagniez, France's ambassador to the USSR; and other officials accompanying the president.

During the exchange of views, which proceeded in a friendly and working atmosphere, the results of the conversations held between the relevant Soviet and French ministers at the same time as Mikhail Gorbachev's conversation with Francois Mitterrand were summed up.

The recent enlivening of the political dialogue between the two countries was noted, and the common desire was expressed that it should be concentrated on key problems of European and world politics, on the concrete promotion of the resolution of regional problems.

It was noted that there are quite a few unused reserves in bilateral trade and economic and scientific-technical cooperation; however, in order to activate them sufficiently and effectively, with benefit for both sides, dynamism, boldness, and decisiveness in the structural and organizational restructuring of cooperation and in the elimination of everything impeding its development are necessary.

It was noted in the conversation that a vital precondition for the substantial activation of relations in various directions was the creation of appropriate political, trade-economic, financial-credit, contractual-legal, organizational and other conditions favorable to both countries, which will remove the existing obstacles and restrictions, stimulate the mutual interest of economic partners in one another, concentrate their efforts in

directions that are of overriding importance to the USSR and France, and gear them towards the earliest possible achievement of concrete results. Government institutions should promote the rapid introduction of new forms of cooperation, setting up joint enterprises and arranging direct links and industrial coproduction. Only such forms of cooperation, in the sides' opinion, possess sufficient potential and vitality to ensure that the mutual exchanges have the necessary rate of growth and that they are more evenly balanced.

In this connection, the sides favored the formation of a new contractual-legal basis for trade-economic and scientific-technical relations, taking into account the requirements for the organization and form of cooperation, and methods for carrying it out, in the light of restructuring in the Soviet Union and changes taking place in France connected with the 1993 formation of a single European market. It might include a bilateral concept of trade-economic and technological cooperation and based on its principles, an agreement on the development of economic, technical, and industrial cooperation, as well as a long-term program for the period 1990-2000.

The talks that have taken place show that both sides are resolutely disposed toward specific deeds and that real possibilities exist for organizing in the very near future wide-scale cooperation in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex, where this could involve the modernization of Soviet enterprises for storing and processing agricultural produce, for railway transport, the chemical industry, oil exploration and recovery, nuclear power engineering, the peaceful use of space, and a new generation of color television.

Because individual projects require more detailed study, it was agreed that the relevant interested Soviet and French organizations will study in the immediate future the opportunities for embarking on specific agreements.

The meeting's participants stressed that now, in the century of rapid technological progress, the development of links in the spheres of science, engineering, and technology has acquired particular importance. Joining efforts in these directions makes it possible to avoid the unnecessary duplication of planning and research work, substantially saving resources and time. Many problems, in particular ecological ones, cannot be solved satisfactorily within the bounds of one country. The need was noted for better orientation of scientific and technical links toward receiving specific final results, and for increasing the proportion of work in cooperation that encompasses the whole "science-technology-production-sale" cycle.

Satisfaction was expressed over the signing of a protocol of intent between the USSR Vneshekonombank and a group of French banks, containing an accord on the development of forms of financial cooperation and an agreement between the scientific-production association "Tsvetmetobrabotka" and the French firm Pechiney on setting up a joint Soviet-French enterprise for the production of packaging materials based on aluminium foil.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the sides expressed confidence that the talks will give a powerful impetus to the further development of bilateral cooperation in various fields.

At the conclusion of the talks, Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand replied to questions from Soviet and French journalists.

In the evening, an unofficial dinner in honor of the French president and his wife was given on behalf of Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev.

Talks Concluded Next Day

PM2811093588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Final Meeting With F. Mitterrand"]]

[Text] A final meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, was held in the Kremlin 26 November. Mitterrand is paying a working visit to Moscow.

They summed up in a broad respect the results of the discussions begun 25 November during the one-on-one meeting and continued at the unofficial dinner, and of the negotiations of the two delegations. Both sides expressed deep satisfaction with the fact that their positions on many issues coincided, with the discussions on international affairs and specific areas of bilateral relations held.

Special attention at the talks was paid to Europe: the project to build a "common European home," which was advanced by Gorbachev. This project was characterized by President Mitterrand as a great idea. According to the president, if one has imagination and intellectual boldness, it is not difficult to picture the European Continent, and all countries located on it, as a new community linked with new relations, within whose framework everyone remains himself but all cooperate in the name of identical goals. Mitterrand said that he personally regarded the realization of this idea as a priority objective. Ultimately, Europe's cultural and intellectual similarity is a reality which can and should be embodied in politics.

Gorbachev, clarifying the course of his reflections which led to the advancement of the idea of the "common European home", said: All considerations which were put forward on our part relied on the understanding of the importance of the Helsinki process. All efforts to create the "common European home" should be regarded as the follow-up on the path started in Helsinki.

I was sometimes reproached that when speaking about the "common European home", I ostensibly want either to undermine the Helsinki process or to "delink" Europe from America, Gorbachev went on. Absurdity. The Helsinki process is a great process. It has already bred quite a few values of the philosophical, political and practical nature. It should be preserved and deepened. Europeans, the United States and Canada should work together to multiply what has been achieved and take into account the new realities.

President Mitterrand discussed then with Gorbachev some of the ideas concerning the filling of the "common European home" project with specific content, which are being elaborated in France. A vigorous joint quest was under way for such ideas, whose significance would be common to all Europeans, and whose realization the existing political and ideological differences between the East and the West would not hamper.

The talk dealt, in part, with interaction in environmental protection, in developing and applying new advanced technologies, in cooperation in medicine and biology, and in creating new television systems and video equipment in general. The importance was stressed of a sizeable boost in cultural exchange between the East and the West, between the Soviet Union and France.

Showing respect for the cultural treasures of all people of the world, the Europeans should all the same show care about the protection and further development of their own rich heritage, the interlocutors pointed out. This should be done best of all by concerted effort, by utilizing the new technical opportunities which have been brought out and continue to be brought out.

The implementation of all these plans will, certainly, require a good deal of effort, Gorbachev said. It is important that Europeans learn to keep in mind the interests of the entire continent, the whole of European civilization.

At present this ability is lacking both in the East and in the West. The experience of our restructuring shows that there will be no progress either in politics or in practice till the way of thinking is changed. The solution of practical problems will be blocked by the unresolved conceptual problems.

The quest for new all-European projects and solutions, Gorbachev continued, should be carried out in such a way as to promote the growing integration of separate regions, not their exclusiveness—to promote economic or political formations in the continent. Of course, this should be done wherever it is possible to do.

Both sides expressed their determination to promote the early conclusion of the Vienna meeting and the beginning of talks on conventional armaments in Europe. They believe that the remaining problems can be resolved.

In this connection they touched upon the Soviet Union's proposal to hold a conference on humanitarian problems in Moscow. Mitterrand said that the leaders of Western countries had discussed this proposal. In their opinion, the conference can be held. However, with this in view the Soviet Union should take additional steps for the implementation of provisions of the Helsinki Final Act—those that deal with human rights.

Gorbachev said in this connection that the Soviet Union was now living through a new stage of its development. We are introducing a profound democratization and humanization into our society. This is needed for further developing and upgrading socialism. Much is being done for the enrichment of human rights and for working out more reliable guarantees for their exercise. Some people have grievances against us in this respect. However, we also can state our grievances. Mitterrand agreed with it. He said that, in his opinion, much had been done in the West in the sphere of individual rights. However, so far as collective, social rights are concerned, the West must still make progress.

Gorbachev concluded this part of the discussion by saying that the USSR did not impose its project on anybody. If it does not suit the Western side, we can delay its implementation. And the matter will go to a Moscow conference.

Mitterrand said in reply that the most important thing for both sides was to give signs of goodwill to each other.

Summing up the results of the conversation, Gorbachev said that their dialogue had been short but fruitful. I think we can express satisfaction over the work done, both from the point of view of our bilateral relations, and from the point of view of our cooperation on problems of European and world politics, he said. The president fully agreed with it. Mitterrand said that next year France would accord a hearty welcome to the Soviet leader, who is going to pay an official visit to that country.

President F. Mitterrand of France, who is on a working visit to our country at the invitation of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow for the Baykonur cosmodrome 26 November.

He was seen off at Vnukovo Airport by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials.

The state flags of France and the Soviet Union were flying at the airport.

E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, left for Baykonur together with the French president.

Paper Interviews Mitterrand

PM2511143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with French President F. Mitterrand by own correspondent Vladimir Bolshakov: "Benefiting Our Countries. PRAVDA Interview With French President"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Bolshakov] Most French people, as public opinion polls indicate, support your declared course—for peace and disarmament, and against super-armaments. As is known, you also opposed production of Hades missiles. But the military budget and 5-year military development program adopted when the right-wing parties were in government continue to be implemented. There have been reports that the Hades program has not been canceled, nor has the program for the production of chemical and neutron weapons. French nuclear tests have continued under the Rocard government. When, in your view, will it be possible for the government to bring its course in the military development sphere into line with your thesis "against super-armaments"?

[Mitterrand] As for nuclear, conventional, and chemical weapons, there is no comparison between the French potential and that of the Soviet Union or the United States. But we have the right, like the two great powers, to independence and security. These two powers possess intermediate nuclear systems of very short range. So why shouldn't we have the same? They have considerable stocks of chemical weapons. We do not have them. We are not producing neutron weapons, the development of which has been completed in our country. The Russians and Americans are continuing nuclear tests. We are too. We are prepared to endorse an international policy in the disarmament sphere, but only one that is really balanced.

[Bolshakov] Supreme power in the Fifth Republic is concentrated in your hands. As president and commander in chief of the French Armed Forces you also have the final say when it comes to using nuclear weapons. As is known, you are against the flexible response doctrine adopted by NATO. Why do you reject it? In your opinion, can nuclear weapons be a political instrument? And do you believe in the prospect of a nuclear-free world?

[Mitterrand] I am speaking only in the name of France when I reject the flexible response doctrine. Deterrence means preventing war, that is, nipping it in the bud. In this sense one can say that nuclear weapons have played a substantial role in preserving peace in the past 40 years. As for the prospects of a nuclear-free world, I would like it to come about. It depends on the people in power. That is what it boils down to.

[Bolshakov] The USSR and the United States have signed and ratified an agreement on the elimination of their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. An agreement on the 50-percent reduction of the two powers' strategic arsenals is on the agenda. Any future steps toward disarmament, primarily nuclear, will be impossible without Britain and France, without Western and Eastern Europe. At what stage might France join in the nuclear disarmament process? In what form can it participate in it today?

[Mitterrand] Let us wait first for the reaching of the accord between your country and the United States on a 50-percent reduction of strategic armaments that you mentioned to me. I know these talks are complex and that they have not yet been concluded. Moreover, 5 years ago, at the United Nations, I set out the conditions that have to be fulfilled for France to join in the process. Thus I am ready to do it, but on these conditions.

[Bolshakov] France is preparing for entry into a united Europe in 1992. You attach enormous significance to this. What, in your view, will France gain from this? How do you picture the new Europe and what form, in your view, will its relations with the CEMA countries and other socialist countries take?

[Mitterrand] France is indeed expecting much of the creation of a broad European internal market, in particular stronger economic growth. And this is the source of social progress and full employment, which will be ensured as a result of an end to extravagance and the elimination of obstacles created by the present isolation of the 12 national markets. But the specific manifestations of solidarity arising out of the growing integration of our economies must, equally, compel us to move toward a more profound political and cultural alliance serving the cause of peace, rapprochement of peoples, and human rights.

The completion of the creation of a "grand market" will not in any way mean that the European Community states will become "introverted." On the contrary, I want the Community to develop its relations with other major political and economic associations, in particular with those called the "Eastern countries," with which much more permanent relations should be established. The joint declaration signed 25 June this year between the EEC and CEMA countries is a fine precondition in this respect and, I hope, will lead to the conclusion of numerous agreements on cooperation and trade links, as has already happened with Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

[Bolshakov] Relations between the USSR and France have traditionally been friendly. Unfortunately, in recent years a number of opportunities for developing them have been missed, not through the fault of the USSR, incidentally. In the new political situation that has now taken shape in France, how do you view the future of these relations? I am talking about immediate and long-term prospects. What do you expect from your visit to the USSR and talks with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev?

[Mitterrand] Indeed, not in all spheres—I am thinking in particular of trade relations—have our relations reached a level consonant with the quality of the friendly ties between our two peoples and the economic might of the USSR and France. Apart from the obvious discussion of the main problems affecting life in the world as a whole, for example disarmament, I expect my visit to the USSR and the talks I will have with Mr Gorbachev to boost activity in all areas to the benefit of our two countries.

[Bolshakov] What do you think about restructuring? How does it affect international relations—above all relations between the West and the USSR—and Soviet-French dialogue?

[Mitterrand] Restructuring is a far-reaching and courageous enterprise which France is following with special interest. I want it to be successful and bring the Soviet peoples welfare and prosperity. It will help facilitate our ties and our dialogue.

[Bolshakov] What is your view of the possibility of settling local conflicts in the world, in particular in the Near East? Can the USSR and France act together in this? And in the sphere of aid for the "Third World"?

[Mitterrand] There is no lack of conflicts on which the USSR and France, in view of the degree of their international responsibility, could exercise a restraining influence, and even contribute to the establishment of peace.

You mentioned the Near East. The Palestine National Council's acceptance of the UN resolution, which my country welcomed as an important step in the right direction, removed the chief obstacle to convening an international peace conference. I proposed that the five permanent members of the Security Council start preparatory work aimed at facilitating the convening of it. Here, too, our views fully coincide with Mr Gorbachev's. This idea is more topical than ever.

As for aid for the "Third World," I presented the United Nations with a program of measures on easing debts and carrying out major work on constructing socially useful facilities, transferring technology, and so forth, which will require the solidarity of the international community. It goes without saying that a contribution from the USSR will also be welcomed. [passage omitted]

[Bolshakov] Now that we have stated the need for the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state, what advice can you offer to us as the leader of France, homeland of human and civil rights?

[Mitterrand] I would not want to interfere in the debate currently taking place in the Soviet Union on the human rights issue. But anyone can see that the discussion of these matters is under way and that this is progress in itself. I would only say that in the human rights sphere there are principles and rules which transcend differences between regimes and ideologies. There was a reminder of this in the Final Act signed in Helsinki.

We will not build the Greater Europe of tomorrow, a Europe which will overcome the split that occurred as a result of war and its consequences, without a common legal foundation. Let us lay the foundations of a European legal space which would ensure free movement of people and ideas throughout the continent, freedom of expression and information, respect for minority rights, and so forth.

[Bolshakov] The great powers have a great responsibility. In what way could France and the USSR cooperate to jointly solve problems facing mankind, such as environmental conservation, the fight against disease, and so forth?

[Mitterrand] In worldwide terms we are faced with numerous problems. There is anxiety at the spread of certain diseases, at the protection of man's genetic heritage, and at the damage that is being done to the environment, damage that respects neither borders nor differences between regimes, and aggravates differences between levels of development.

In the first place, we must understand the phenomena we are encountering, identify their scale, and measure the risk posed by new types of technology. Thus, science must anticipate the implementation of a policy to prevent or rectify the negative consequences of technical progress. There is great potential here for international cooperation. One could cite as a specific example the argument about the risk of a change in our planet's climate, which is a source of concern for the French public. France will back the international programs implemented by the United Nations and the European Community in this sphere. It will also strive for bilateral cooperation with other countries. We have a very long tradition of scientific cooperation with the Soviet Union. And the assessment of our potential shows that we could make effective advances in this area too, thus contributing to progress in work that has already begun. Other questions could also be objects of this kind of cooperation and I, for my part, want the number of agreements between our research centers to increase. [passage omitted]

TV Interview With Leaders

LD2511213288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand gave an interview to a Soviet television correspondent in the Kremlin today. [video shows, left to right, Mitterrand, interpreter, Moscow TV correspondent Georgiy Zubkov, and Gorbachev standing together in a hall]

[Mitterrand, in French with superimposed Russian translation] We did not begin our talks today; this is a dialogue which we have been conducting for several years already. But, of course, it is necessary to give Soviet-French relations a new, more modern character. We are talking about disarmament, economic problems, questions of environmental protection, and the strengthening of peace in the whole world. We have worked seriously together on these problems and have taken a step forward. I thank Mr Gorbachev for receiving us in this way.

[Zubkov, to Mitterrand in French] Thank you, Mr President. [Turning to Gorbachev, in Russian] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what is your impression of today, the first day of the talks?

[Gorbachev] The president and I are old interlocutors, and if we add to this the fact that Soviet-French relations have a great tradition, their roots reaching deep into the past, this enables the president and me to concentrate straight away on the main issues of Soviet-French cooperation. We share the opinion that in the present dynamic world, when a fairly serious turnabout is going on in the world toward a normalization of relations—their amelioration and cooperation—a more active political dialogue is necessary, and the president and I agreed on how we will act. We believe, together, that the Soviet-French dialogue and the contribution of the Soviet Union and France at this moment are important for the development of the world community and are of great significance. To a considerable degree, the general process of restructuring international relations cannot manage without this dialogue. I would accept such a statement, because I feel that it corresponds to reality.

I am glad to meet the president again. We are welcoming in the person of the president the friendly people of France. We will grant the president and his wife, Danielle Mitterrand, all our hospitality during these days. And I think that what is happening now, during these days, will enrich our relations and will assist Soviet-French cooperation in reaching a new, higher level.

[Mitterrand] I agree with what Mr Gorbachev said with regard to the French people. On behalf of my country and people, I ardently greet the Soviet people. [video now shows Mitterrand and Gorbachev shaking hands]

[Zubkov, to Gorbachev] Thank you very much. [To Mitterrand, in French] Thank you very much.

Paris TV Interviews Leaders

LD2511220788 Paris Antenne 2 Television in French 1900 GMT 25 Nov 88

["Exclusive" interview with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and French President Francois Mitterrand given at the Kremlin in Moscow on 25 November by Antenne 2 television and Europe 1 radio correspondents Christine Ockrent and Jean-Pierre Elkabbach, identified where possible; Gorbachev speaking in Russian fading into French translation; no video available—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Good evening, sirs. Thank you for coming out together from your first conversation, tete-a-tete, which was followed, I believe, with a conversation between your delegations. Thank you, Mr Gorbachev, for giving your first television interview to Antenne 2 and Europe 1. Thank you.

There has been a lot of talk here in Moscow of a sort of stagnation in Franco-Soviet relations. Do you believe that France has, up to now, shown itself less enthusiastic towards your country than, for example, West Germany, Italy, or Great Britain?

[Gorbachev] I don't think so. Since 1985, President Francois Mitterrand and I have been conducting an active political dialogue. He and I noted that we lacked personal contacts. And as life and the practice of relations shows, that is a very real element in political dialogue. [previous sentence translated from Russian] I would say that I highly appreciate—and I don't think I am giving away a secret speaking in the presence of President Mitterrand—I appreciate the level of dialogue that exists between the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the president of the French Republic. The president and I agreed that this dialogue, by its dynamism and its progress, must be in accordance with the rapid changes taking place in the modern world, and that the role of the Soviet Union and France is such that we cannot allow ourselves to slacken political dialogue.

[Correspondent] Francois Mitterrand, 2 days ago you supported very openly in the French press Mr Gorbachev's policy. Do you, too, think that this personal contact is indispensable?

[Mitterrand] I would like to say first of all that this relationship was established some years ago now, and that it blossomed in 1985 when Mr Gorbachev made his first state visit to a Western country, which was indeed to France. And the next year I, in turn, made a state visit, which means all the decorum, all the ritual and solemnity, which cannot of course be renewed each time. And we continued this dialogue in all ways. And you are asking: How is this dialogue really conducted for it to be useful? I think that Mr Gorbachev and I have got into the habit of speaking clearly to each other. If there is something we don't like, we say so. When we feel that we need to go further in relations between the Soviet Union and France, we do so. And thus we now have a very warm dialogue, and I think it is a confident one, or at least certainly it is productive.

[Correspondent] Without wanting to ask for technical details....

[Mitterrand, interrupting] Go ahead.

[Correspondent] [words indistinct] This trip, we all noticed that you are accompanied by important businessmen, industrialists, and ministers. So can we expect new, important—let's use the word—contracts, between

France and the USSR, which would put us a little less far behind Germany and Italy as far as economic cooperation with this country is concerned?

[Mitterrand] We can expect numerous agreements of all kinds, both public and private. It is a matter of desire and a question of interest. And we do have the interest. The public powers, those of the state, [words indistinct] credits are open. It is also up to private enterprises to make the necessary effort, and the heads of enterprises whom I have brought to Moscow on this trip are all men whose caliber and dynamism are well known. Yes, I expect a lot from this trip.

[Correspondent] When we speak of open credits, we obviously all think of that famous 12 billion credit.... [currency not identified]

[Mitterrand, interrupting] ...public [word indistinct] are open. Private credit is another matter that is being dealt with by (?those who have the funds.)

[Correspondent] And do you believe that the atmosphere of these conversations can in fact help private enterprises to benefit from a good public agreement?

[Mitterrand] I hope that the trade links between our two countries will intensify. And a meeting is already arranged for next year.

[Correspondent] Mr Gorbachev, restructuring is understood and supported abroad. Here it is experiencing difficulties, some resistance—you have admitted this yourself. And even (?as you have said) risks failure. Will it continue (?or) is it a [word indistinct] and reversible phenomenon?

[Gorbachev] Restructuring is a choice that has already been made not only by the political leaders or by the different political circles but by the entire people. We call this restructuring revolutionary. It will bring about profound transformations. It will enable us to achieve long-term objectives. It is the assurance of a new dimension for our society and it is normal that during a transformation of this scale there should be debates and exchanges of opinion about the aims and processes of restructuring. These debates have already enriched us, in my opinion. We have a policy of restructuring which covers the economy, the political processes, and ideology, but I think that the main thing is that there should be restructuring in people's minds. And this is a process which is not simple. I would even say that it is a painful process. The difficulty is not due to the fact that someone rejects restructuring. These people are not numerous and they are not the ones who define public opinion. No, society is in favor of restructuring. The difficulties are in the process itself. We must break with our past, we must master the new methods of behaving and thinking in every field—and this is never simple.

[Correspondent] Mr General Secretary, we have learned from the news that there are serious tensions and serious events are taking place between two Soviet peoples, the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians. How do you propose to restore calm between two neighboring peoples?

[Gorbachev] You know, this is part of restructuring. In our country, which is comprised of so many ethnic groups, cultures, and languages, we cannot resolve any problem without taking account of this particular aspect. Now that restructuring is picking up speed, this process concerns the interests of the various peoples. Furthermore, restructuring, glasnost, and democracy have enabled all the peoples to express their opinions regarding their present conditions, and the problems that have arisen. In our huge federation we are therefore discussing all these problems, including old problems that have accumulated in the relations between the peoples. For example, Nagorno- Karabakh is an old problem. I believe the solution to this problem involves understanding, but we are calling for and we (?want) to contribute to the emergence of this understanding, so that there is an area of agreement, so that there is no break in the ancient and friendly ties between these peoples.

There are mixed marriages, there are mixed families in [words indistinct] that we respect all this, that we have a vigilant attitude to these problems. I believe that despite the gravity that the problem has taken on—it is being aggravated at present—the solution nevertheless involves cooperation, the establishment of cooperation, calmly exchanging points of view on the best way of resolving this situation. Shortly, the Soviet leaders will be meeting the Armenian and Azerbaijani delegations. We will be three parties discussing the best way of finding the solution which is in accordance with the interests of these peoples and in the interest of the entire union, of our entire country. Of course, our country is preoccupied.

[Ockrent] Mr President, do you think that on this occasion certain conservative forces, which perhaps are still rather reticent as regards our policies, will find in this a reason to make their opposition known even more loudly?

[Gorbachev] No, I think that the questions about what follows [words indistinct]. There are people who have a distressing attitude toward restructuring. They would try to divert people's attention away toward problems such as Nagorno-Karabakh—there is a problem there, but we will not ignore it and we are a long way from lumping everything together. We remain vigilant concerning everything that effects relations between two ethnic groups and will do what is necessary to harmonize such relations. And this will nevertheless not weaken our resolve to see to it that corrupt and anti-social elements who see that restructuring encroaches on their selfish interests—who want to undermine restructuring...[Gorbachev changes thought]...we cannot allow such a situation and we will be able to confront it.

[Correspondent] Mr President [words indistinct] for the first time, right here in the Kremlin, you mentioned the name Sakharov [words indistinct] human rights. Thanks to Mr Gorbachev, there has been progress. What [words indistinct] development, what kind of progress are you (?expecting) on human rights before there can be, perhaps, this conference that people have been talking about for 1991? What type of [words indistinct]?

[Mitterrand] This progress is obvious, everyone knows it, and you yourselves, as journalists, keep France informed, as do the journalists of the whole world, of other countries. We are very well aware that something very important is happening in the Soviet Union and that this something is going in the direction of a wider opening up, of greater freedom, and it seems to me that the world is moving in the right direction, in the right way. Is that in accordance today with my idea of democracy, such as we practise it in the Western world? No. Is the comparison to be made between what has been accomplished under Mr Gorbachev's authority and what was for a certain time the reality of the Soviet Union? Of course. Everyone knows very well that this represents a great deal of political courage, a lot of effort, and a broad vision of the future. That is what I look at. You cannot always start from your own rules. You also have to see the way in which the development is being carried out. That's the question you're asking me.

I have indeed spoken about Professor Sakharov in the Kremlin, and Mr Gorbachev was there. This was under his predecessor. Good, fine. Human rights are an aspect that is part of the permanent discussion decided in the Helsinki agreements. The 35 partners at that conference speak of human rights as they do of other questions. The Soviet Union discusses this as much as we do, and with us. So we cannot deal with human rights problems without the Soviet Union, since it signed the Helsinki agreements just as we did. So there has been a request for a human rights conference in 1989, next year, the centenary, in Paris; the next year in Copenhagen, the year after that, in 1991, in Moscow. Of course questions arise and they have been brought up, and the Western powers are now discussing and examining this, to work out the conditions under which this conference could be held. But the fact remains that the Soviet Union is one of our partners for discussing human rights in Europe. That is what I can say.

[Correspondent] Do you agree, Mr Gorbachev?

[Gorbachev] Yes, and we have spoken about it. We think about Europe, our common home. We already live there. We are different. This is a good thing. Each people respects the others. We should respect the path taken by the others. We do not intend to impose our values on others, but we also hope that in this house, in this room in the European house, we shall not have special statutes imposed on us, but that does not rule out exchanges: exchanges on the political level, cultural exchanges, exchanges about the organization of the life of society. And probably during this process, there will be a continuous move closer together of the people living in this old continent. We are sure that Europe has every chance of seeing the construction of a house that is truly common to all the Europeans, which would have at its basis the values that belong to the whole of humanity, and mutual respect. We talk a lot about this with the president, about specific things. There have also been specific problems that we have dealt with during our conversations.

[Mitterrand] [Words indistinct] for the moment we talk about these future conferences with our allies. The treaties say that we should discuss human rights with all our partners in Europe, and also the Americans and Canadians, and among our European partners we can say that the Soviet Union is particularly important. It is natural that we should talk about it.

As for the common home, it is a very nice expression and Mr Gorbachev is responsible for it. Of course, it is a long distance view. How could one be against it? But we must create some conditions to get there. As far as we are concerned we are in the process of building a Europe, the community of Europe. There are twelve of us, and in a few years, in four years, we are going to build a single market among us. That is going to create new conditions for Europe's economic life.

[Correspondent] Do you also discuss with them?

[Mitterrand] Yes, of course. And there are a lot of problems that go outside the division of Europe. There are the problems of the environment. Take the problem of high technology. At any time this crosses over all frontiers. And we must begin by making a Europe in this way...[Mitterrand changes thought]...do I have to talk about television? Our Europe, the part of Europe where Mr Gorbachev is, and the part where France is, has an extraordinary deficiency in the production of images, which would, how can I put it—I could say create, or make an impression on the mind, so the forms of culture and intelligence of all the children of Europe, with all our cultures, our traditions, our civilizations, our expressions. [sentence as heard] We come from the same source, we don't want it to dry up for the sole benefit of American images and Japanese technology. This crosses the frontiers and the division of Europe. Why don't we put that right up there along with the definitions that we share? There could be any number of examples: I (?could speak) of the environment, the protection of nature. What can I say? When the forests are sick, they are sick in Scandinavia just as in the Soviet Union or in the Vosges.

[Ockrent] Mr. Mitterrand, you know very well George Bush, who has been elected the next U.S. President. You, Mr Gorbachev, also know him very well, and you are going to have dinner with Mr Reagan and Mr Bush in

Washington in about 10 days' time. Do you think that the new American Adinistration will step up the current talks, particularly those on disarmament? Mr Gorbachev, please....

[Gorbachev] I will briefly answer the question you have just asked. We hope for continuity in Soviet-American relations and we hope that these relations will develop.

[Elkabbach] With regard to Afghanistan, you announced the spectacular news of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and then the withdrawal was suspended. Mr Gorbachev, will there still be any Soviet troops in Afghanistan by 17 February 1989?

[Gorbachev] We are attached to the agreements signed. What is more, we hope that our partners in these agreements will show as much of a sense of responsibility as we do. I say this because so far they have failed to show such responsibility. We call on our partners to adopt this responsible stand and, what is more, we are pondering on how to implement the Geneva agreements. We regard the observance of these agreements as a means of testing the stand of our partners in the light of achieving important agreements. There are many conflicts in which we should resolve through cooperation and we hope for cooperation. We shall continue to support the agreements signed in Geneva.

[Elkabbach] We know that you will speak with Mr Gorbachev about disarmament. Well, there are French people who say: Well, the Soviet Union builds as many tanks in one week as France does in a whole year, what does disarmament mean? This is a rather simplistic interpretation of the issue of the so-called conventional weapons. Do you perceive any progress in this field of the balance?

[Mitterrand] There are different types of arms and, naturally, there are different talks, global points of discussion, on disarmament. There was, first of all, the Washington agreement between Mr Gorbachev and Mr Reagan regarding the eradication of medium-range nuclear weapons, that is those ranging between 1,500 and 4,500 kilometres. Well, this agreement has been concluded and an excellent one it is. Then there was the question of a strategic, nuclear disarmament, to reduce the American and powerful Soviet weapons by 50 percent. I do not know the exact figures, but I would hazard to say it involves at least 12,000 nuclear warheads on both sides. Very well, it is very good news.

Then there is conventional disarmament. That is where we are at. At the moment we are discussing this at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. There are 35 countries there, first of all countries interested directly in the matter of conventional weapons, (?and then neutral countries) [words indistinct] discussing precisely the issue of conventional weapons, within the framework of the conference. We are present there. We have entrusted some of our representatives, ministers and ambassadors, with starting a concrete discussion of the issue in the coming days and weeks. The answer to your question will be given at that time. But it is necessary in my view to restore a balance between West and East in the conventional forces—airplanes, tanks, artillery—you knew them before the nuclear era. It seems to me a necessary thing.

Then there is chemical disarmament. We have a big international conference planned in Paris. There are 110 countries that signed the 1925 convention, who are all invited, and some others will attend as well. If I had to, I could talk about biological disarmament, but France does not make these things. So I will end there.

Every advance in disarmament will be a piece of good news for the world. As for France, I pointed out as long ago as 1983 at the United Nations, that it would take part in disarmament, in particular in nuclear disarmament, the day that we saw a certain number of conditions fulfilled by the disarmament of the two biggest powers. We have now arrived at this point.

[Elkabbach] What is the present state of Franco-Soviet relations? Have we entered a new stage of cooperation? How do you define it?

[Mitterrand] My personal relations with Mr Gorbachev, president of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, were established 3 years ago on a clear basis which I believe to be one of trust and depth. We even went further in this than some of the other partners, and we will continue this. It is true that we did not meet in 1987, but we met in 1985 and 1986, and we meet now on an occasion which must not be forgotten: that of the launching of the cosmonauts at Baykonur. We shall see each other tomorrow. This is the origin of my visit, that of the launching of General Chretien into space, where he will remain for several weeks. Naturally, this association between man and technology, based on Soviet experiments, is a particularly concrete manifestation of the good relationship between the Soviet Union and France, a relationship which is planted on firm ground. Well, we will continue, and every time an obstacle crops up, as sometimes happens, he who is not satisfied will be the first to say no. This will not prevent us from continuing our efforts to achieve a good accord with this big country, to whom we owe a great deal, as those of my generation remember that during World War II the Soviet Union played an important role in securing our freedom.

[Okrent] Mr President, Mr President [addressing each in turn] thank you a thousand times on behalf of Antenne 2, Europe 1, and all French and European viewers who, thanks to you, have heard most interesting details on, of course, the state of Franco-Soviet relations, but also on a number of topical issues. Thank you both.

Joint Briefing Held on Talks

LD2511205088 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's and Francois Mitterrand's conversation, as well as Soviet-French negotiations in an extended composition were very substantive. They proceeded in a business-like working atmosphere, in the spirit of openness. Such is the consensus of chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Gennadiy Gerasimov and French President's press secretary Hubert Vedrine. They addressed here today the first joint Soviet-French briefing in history. It summed up the results of the first day of French President Francois Mitterrand's working visit in the Soviet Union.

The briefing was told that a wide range of problems agitating entire humanity had been discussed during the negotiations. The entire complex of disarmament problems, East-West relations, bilateral ties had specifically been discussed. Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand had stated their views on the future of Europe as regards politics, economy and culture.

Hubert Vedrine noted that the views of the sides on the problem of ban and subsequent elimination of chemical weapons are very similar. He expressed the confidence that the current visit of the French president would give a fresh impetus to Soviet-French cooperation.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, in turn, that though France rated fourth among the USSR's partners in Western Europe, the volume of trade between the two countries was not large enough, and their trade was not balanced. Both sides now wish not just to increase trade turn-over, but to introduce new forms of cooperation which is promoted by cardinal economic reforms in the USSR, Gennadiy Gerasimov said. He noted in this connection that as many as 130 joint ventures with foreign firms had already been set up in the USSR, and that only six of them were formed with French companies.

Answering a question from a TASS correspondent, the French President's press secretary said that France had never had objections in principle to the holding of a humanitarian conference in Moscow, and that it viewed such a conference in the context of a European process. On his part, Gennadiy Gerasimov added that the Soviet Union did not advance any special conditions for the holding of a Moscow conference as compared with conferences in Paris and Copenhagen.

Gennadiy Gerasimov and Hubert Vedrine noted the sides were unanimous in the view that there was an opportunity for an early conclusion of the Vienna meeting and getting down in earnest to negotiations on the essence of the questions of the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The Soviet and French representatives arrived at the concensus that Francois Mitterrand's current visit gave a fresh impetus to bilateral relations and brought a political dialogue between the two countries to a higher level.

Ryzhkov Meets French Ministers

LD2611161188 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—The Soviet Union has always attached great importance to the development of relations with France, regarding it as a traditional partner in European and world affairs, Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said today at a reception of members of the French cabinet, accompanying President Mitterrand during his Soviet visit: Pierre Beregovoy, minister of state and minister of the economy, finance and budget, Roger Fauroux, minister of industry and arrangement of the territory, Henri Nallet, minister of agriculture and forestry, and Jean-Marie Rausch, minister of foreign trade.

The new Soviet-French summit gives a great political impetus to the dialogue and cooperation between the two countries, the head of the Soviet Government went on to say. The meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand also confirmed a mutual desire, relying on the consonant nature of foreign policy priorities and proximity of approaches to several key international problems, to deepen the existing understanding and (where conditions are ripe for this) to convert it into interaction between the Soviet Union and France in the interests of disarmament, strengthening of confidence and security and construction of Europe's peaceful future.

As for the bilateral cooperation, the aim is to rectify the situation by joint efforts in those areas where there was no headway in the past few years and where there is a gap between potentialities and present-day requirements of the USSR and France.

Pierre Beregovoy and other French ministers shared their impressions of their contacts in Moscow with Soviet counterparts and informed the Soviet side of planned specific measures aimed at a substantial expansion in business cooperation between the two countries. Pierre Beregovoy, chairman of the French part of the standing mixed Soviet-French Commission, briefed Nikolay Ryzhkov on the preparation of the French side for the 23rd session of the commission to be held in Paris in February 1989.

The head of the Soviet Government called attention of the French side to the fact that available possibilities for cooperation and exchanges in several areas were used quite insufficiently. Goods turnover remains at a low level, and its structure has not virtually improved. There are artificial restrictions in trade, which have become a clear anachronism and do not benefit France. French

firms do not make full use of such an important factor as the new conditions of cooperation, which emerged as a result of the sweeping economic reform in the Soviet Union.

The participants in the meeting agreed on the need for concentrating efforts on a general rise in efficiency of economic cooperation and diversification of its forms, above all in the industrial sphere. Understandings were reached to get down to drafting a new long-term programme for economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the USSR and France and to speed up the drafting of an agreement on mutual protection of capital investments of each side on the territory of the other side.

Ministers Discuss Foreign Policy

LD2511194688 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—USSR Foreign Minister and member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Eduard Shevardnadze had a meeting today with minister of state. Minister of Foreign Affairs of France Roland Dumas staying in Moscow in connection with a working visit of French President Francois Mitterrand in the Soviet Union.

Some questions of bilateral Soviet-French relations and prospects for their development were discussed in a specific, business-like way.

During the exchange of opinions on topical problems, special attention was given to an early conclusion of the Vienna meeting and the opening of the talks on the reduction of conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals and talks on further confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. The sides also declared in favour of concluding the working out and signing a comprehensive convention of the banning and elimination of chemical weapons.

The closeness of approaches to the settlement in the Middle East and in Kampuchea was confirmed. When the situation in Afghanistan was discussed, the Soviet side declared that ceasefire and the opening of broad negotiations for the creation of a coalition government would be an important political step toward the solution of the problems of that country.

Economic Ministers Hold Talks

LD2511204188 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Negotiations were held today between Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Vladimir Kamentsev and Lev Voronin, and Minister of State, Minister of Economy, Finance and Budget Pierre Beregovoy and Foreign Trade Minister of France Jean-Marie Rausch, who arrived in the USSR with President Francois Mitterrand.

The two sides held a substantive exchange of opinions on a whole package of trade and economic relations between the two countries, in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. They considered possible areas of intensification of mutual cooperation, development of its new forms, elimination of the existing obstacles to broader involvement in cooperation of the economic and intellectual potentials of the USSR and France.

Also discussed was the need for perfecting activities of the mixed Soviet-French Commission for Economic Cooperation, which is to hold its next session early in 1989. A protocol was signed on broader financial cooperation between the Foreign Economic Bank of the USSR and a group of French banks.

Agricultural Ministers Talk

LD2511205688 Moscow TASS in English 2036 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agri-Industrial Committee (Gosagroprom), today received Henri Nallet, French minister of agriculture. He had arrived in Moscow with a group of officials accompanying President Francois Mitterrand.

The sides discussed some of the results of Soviet-French cooperation in agriculture and other spheres of agri-industrial production. They expressed satisfaction over the expansion of trade, economic, scientific and technological ties over the past three years.

At the same time, it was noted that the Soviet Union and France had considerable opportunities and potential to increase bilateral cooperation. Henri Nallet emphasized that there was not a field in agriculture in which France could not cooperate with the Soviet Union and said that France was ready for cooperation in all directions.

The sides highlighted the establishment of joint ventures, development of co-production, the setting up of creative and scientific collectives, as well as trainees' exchanges. The Soviet Union and France will have to assist Soviet organisations and enterprises, and corresponding French firms and organisations in establishing more effective, dynamic and stable mutually beneficial ties.

Vsevolod Murakhovsky received leaders of the French group Pechiney, headed by its President Jean Gandois, later today.

The sides discussed ways of expanding cooperation in agri-industrial production.

During the meeting, the sides signed the founding documents on setting up a major joint Soviet-French enterprise—the Kanaker aluminum plant for manufacturing package materials, in Yerevan, Soviet Armenia.

The joint venture will turn out combined package materials in the form of thin foil covered with plastic films, paper, lacquers and multi-colour inscriptions and drawings. This will be one of the biggest such enterprises in Europe. The plant will manufacture package materials for foods produced at the Gosagroprom enterprises.

The enterprise, to be launched next year, will hit its design capacity—65,000 tons of thin belt and foil—in 1995. The parties will gain dividents and profits from exporting part of the products. Exports will aslo ensure the venture's currency recoupment.

Departure for Baykonur

LD2611095588 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—French President Francois Mitterrand staying in the Soviet Union on a working visit at the invitation of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, left Moscow for the Baykonur cosmodrome today.

At the Vnukovo Airport, where the state flags of France and the Soviet Union were hoisted, Mitterrand was seen off by Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and vice president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and other officials.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, left with the French president to Baykonur.

Personal Relations With Gorbachev

LD2611181588 Moscow International Service in French 1500 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Describing the state of Soviet-French relations, French President Francois Mitterrand had this, in particular, to say:

[Begin Mitterrand recording] During the past 3 years my personal relations with Mr Gorbachev have been established on what I believe to be a basis of trust and, in any case, a deep and (?clear) basis. We have even made greater progress than is the case with a certain number of other partners, and we are continuing. It is true that we did not meet in 1987, but we did meet in 1985 and in 1986, and we are meeting now on the occasion—and this must not be forgotten—of the launch of the cosmonauts at Baykonur. General Chretien is to be launched into space to spend several weeks there and to go out into space. This association between people and technology on the basis of Soviet experience is a particularly specific manifestation of good understanding between the Soviet Union and France on a sound footing. So we are going to continue, and whenever there is an obstacle—and there are from time to time—the one who is dissatisfied will be able to say no. However, this will not prevent us from continuing to try to achieve a good accord with this great country, to which we owe a great deal. Those of my generation remember that during the last world war the Soviet Union played a large part in our liberty. [end recording]

Mitterrand Holds News Conference

LD2611182088 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Baykonur Cosmodrome November 26 TASS—Great openness now sought in the Soviet Union is an important event of our time, President Francois Mitterrand of France said at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists held at Baykonur cosmodrome. The French president's meeting with newsmen took place directly before the launch of the spaceship with the Soviet-French crew.

The president evaluated positively the outcome of his working visit to the Soviet Union and said that center stage was given to issues of cooperation, disarmament, ecology, and the entire spectrum of human contacts. President Mitterrand supported the idea of building a common European home, which was advanced by the Soviet leader, stressing that he considered it important to create "the Europe which we can create in real present-day conditions with account of the existing relationship between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community".

The French president said that the decision was made in Moscow to hold Soviet-French summit meetings annually and also annually two meetings at the foreign minister level.

The French president stressed that the Soviet Union and France have maintained cooperation in space for 22 years now. Today's event is sure to beautify and strengthen this cooperation. In the future it is meant to install a larger number of French equipment in Soviet orbital stations and also make joint Soviet-French space missions at least once in two years. The joint programme for the exploration of Mars will be further developed.

Emphasising a fruitful nature of the discussions on the human rights issue, which were held in Moscow, the French president noted the need for complying scrupulously with the Final Act of the Helsinki conference. He said that all sovereign states had the problem of human rights, however, this sphere went beyond the borders of individual states and applied to the whole world. In this connection, he described as progress the discussion of the holding of humanitarian conference in Paris, Copenhagen and Moscow.

At the conclusion of the news conference the French president thanked Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders, specifically Eduard Shevardnadze who was

present at the news conference at Baykonur Cosmodrome, for a warm reception and the creation of the necessary conditions for fruitful work.

Mitterand Departs From Baykonur

LD2611203888 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Baykonur Cosmodrome November 26 TASS—President Francois Mitterrand of the French Republic arrived here today to be present at the start of the second Soviet-French manned space mission. He was accompanied by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, as well as other officials.

From the airport the president of France went to the cosmodrome where preparations for the start of a carrier rocket and the Soyuz TM-7 spacecraft were coming to a close. [passage omitted]

Mitterrand and Shevardnadze watched the start of the Soyuz TM-7. [as received]

Before leaving the cosmodrome, the French guest visited the memorable places of Baykonur and saw the museum of cosmonautics.

Late at night the president of France left the Soviet Union. At the airport he and his wife were seen off by Eduard Shevardnadze, other officials and senior executives of the Baykonur cosmodrome.

France Reportedly Stages Nuclear Test on Mururoa

LD2411081588 Moscow TASS in English 0807 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Canberra November 24 TASS—France today staged a nuclear test in the South Pacific, the seventh this year. The explosion, with a yield of 40 kilotons, on atoll Mururoa was detected by a seismological station in New Zealand. According to New Zealand scientists, this is the 102nd French nuclear explosion on Mururoa since 1975 when France started using the coral island as its nuclear testing site. The blast occurred at about 7 a.m. local time.

Latin America & Caribbean

Yakovlev Receives Nicaraguan Minister

LD2511221288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, today met Henry Ruiz, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and minister of foreign cooperation of Nicaragua.

Henry Ruiz brought a message from President Daniel Ortega addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and informed him of the efforts of the Sandinist National Liberation Front aimed at eliminating the consequences of Hurricane Joan, and of the initiatives aimed at setting up a lasting and just peace in Central America.

Aleksandr Yakovlev made a statement on the unchangable solidarity of the CPSU and Soviet people toward the struggle of the Nicaraguan people for freedom and sovereignty. He stressed that the USSR is consistently adhering to the policy aimed at furthering a political settlement of the situation that has arisen in the region.

The meeting was held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Panama Paper Cited on New Canal Deal

PM2411154588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Listov report: "What Will Happen to the Canal?"]

[Text] Mexico City, 19 Nov—The CRITICA newspaper, published in the Panamanian capital, has published a report from which it emerges that, before giving up the reins of government, the Reagan administration intends to conclude a new treaty on the Panama Canal with former Panamanian President Delvalle. Delvalle, who the United States continues to regard as the "legitimate president" of Panama, has been hiding at the U.S. military base in the canal zone since February this year. CRITICA writes that the plan which Washington is nurturing envisages the U.S. Administration's signing of a new treaty with the ex-president and with Juan Sosa, former Panamanian ambassador to Washington, and representatives of the Panamanian opposition political parties.

Something similar has already taken place in the history of U.S.-Panamanian relations. Exactly 85 years ago, on 18 November 1903, then Secretary of State Hay signed a treaty of bondage with the French adventurer Bunau-Varilla, who "represented" the newly emerged Panamanian republic, under which the United States proclaimed itself "guarantor of the independence" of Panama and acquired "in perpetuity" a strip of Panamanian territory to build a canal linking the oceans. There is no doubt that Delvalle is entirely suited to the role of a new Bunau-Varilla. But one would like to believe that, despite the temptation, reason will nonetheless prevail over adventurism in Washington.

Article Claims U.S. Plotting Panama Coup

PM2311172788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[S. Svistunov article: "Panama: 'Fifth Border'"]

[Excerpts] Panama, a small country by Latin American standards (77,000 square kilometers, which, nevertheless, is greater than the area of the Benelux countries), has two land borders—with Colombia and Costa Rica. Two ocean borders—with the Atlantic and the Pacific. But there is also a fifth border, the most complex and troubled one—the border with the United States and, primarily, the Pentagon. This is the abiding U.S. military presence in the Panama Canal Zone. [passage omitted]

Subversive activity aimed at carrying out a U.S. coup d'etat in Panama is being encouraged and inspired by the White House in every possible way.

At the end of September the Panamanian police uncovered a new antigovernment plot being prepared with U.S. support. A large quantity of small arms and other kinds of weapons and maps showing the main strategic points and the distribution of national Defense Force units and subunits and important state establishments were discovered when 14 conspirators were arrested. It has been established that the weapons came from Miami (Florida).

The arrestees' testimony and the documents confiscated from them attest to the existence of a special "Semilla" ("Seed") plan prepared by the U.S. intelligence services. It covers the entire territory of Panama and provides for the creation of secret training countries in various parts of the country for the military training of antigovernment groups. The plotters maintained close contacts with former President Delvalle and army officers.

According to a report in the New York-published newspaper NEWSDAY, the CIA and the Panamanian "government underground" are also nurturing plans to mount military operations against Panama similar to those which the Nicaraguan contras are conducting against the Sandinist government. Here the gamble is on Colonel Eduardo Herrero Hassan, who has emigrated. The newspaper writes that the U.S. intelligence services have already provided him with $1 million and a material and technical supply network with whose help the colonel is knocking together his own "liberation army."

As is known, the territory of neighboring Honduras, where the contras' chief bases are concentrated, has been turned into a bridgehead for aggression against Nicaragua. The White House is seeking to impose a similar role as an interventionist springboard on Panama's neighbor—Costa Rica—but so far these attempts have ended in failure. It is known that the Government of Costa Rica is, in the final analysis, making a valuable contribution to the complex process of a settlement in Central America.

This is why Washington is flexing its militarist muscles in the Panama Canal Zone—on the "fifth border" which is so convenient for it. According to reports in the French press, Washington intends not only not to curtail but to substantially expand the structure of the Southern Command in the Panama Canal Zone by the year 2000. The army contingent now stationed there will be increased from 15,000 to 100,000 soldiers and officers. It is planned to create a strong U.S. Air Force and Navy base on the Azuero Peninsula, which is washed by the waters of the Pacific, and to station units of the "Rapid Deployment Force" on the Caribbean coast in the Panamanian province of Bocas del Toro. Thus a major new military bridgehead is being created "to instill order" throughout the restless Latin American Continent.

The decision adopted by the USSR Government at the beginning of October to subscribe to the protocol on the permanent neutrality and the operation of the Panama Canal, which constitutes an important part of the Torrijos-Carter treaties, elicited a great response in this situation. Welcoming this step, Jose Maria Cabrera, Panama's deputy foreign minister, pointed out that it serves as an additional guarantee of the fundamental principle on which the protocol on the canal's neutrality is based.

Rating highly the Soviet Union's decision, OAS Secretary General Joao Clemente Baena Soares pointed out: "The adoption by all states of a pledge to observe neutrality ensuring the right of peaceful passage through the Panama Canal will enhance the effectiveness of this treaty."

Panamanian diplomacy is making the maximum effort to ensure that as many countries as possible sign the canal neutrality protocol. Over the past 11 years 35 states have done so. The USSR is the 36th.

The people of Panama crave peace and normal conditions for their complete development. The chief obstacle on this path is the "fifth border"—an historical anachronism resulting from the United States' annexationist policy.

Panamanian Communist Leader on U.S. 'Campaigns'

PA2511234088 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0100 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] This year there have been many campaigns against the prestige of [Panama Defense Forces Commander] General Noriega. What do Panamanians think about this? The secretary-general of the People's Party of Panama Central Committee, Ruben D. Souza, will answer this question.

[Begin Souza recording] The true problem is that Gen Noriega is being consistent with the philosophy of General Omar Torrijos—who died in circumstances that are still unclear—and is maintaining the position that the North Americans must leave the country as established

in the Torrijos - Carter treaties. This is the nationalist position of the Panamanian military, headed by Gen Noriega. We all know the Latin America tradition is that whoever controls the armed forces controls the government. The Panamanian Government cannot set aside a national achievement, and the North Americans must leave the country. For this reason, the U.S. Government devised a strategy that calls for returned control over the military. To achieve this, the United States would have to purge all nationalistic officers, especially Noriega. By controlling the Panamanian military, the United States would have political control. This would allow the North Americans to set up a puppet government, which is what the Civic Crusade wants.

With a puppet government, the U.S. Government would procure a new pact that would allow the imperialists to stay for decades in the canal area. Since the imperialists have to solve this problem, they decided to put Noriega on trial by accusing him of committing crimes, including drug trafficking.

All this has been an excuse the United States has used to resolve a local political problem in an international framework. This strategy failed. In Panama and abroad, the people have come to realize that the real U.S. interest is to ensure its permanence in Panama, and that everything else was just pretexts and accusations to hide U.S. imperialistic interests in our country.

We believe Gen Noriega has firmly withstood U.S. pressure. He was able to see in time imperialism's ambitions of conquest. He has reiterated Torrijos' philosophy of securing compliance with the Torrijos-Carter treaties at all cost because they guarantee the end of the occupation of our territory and full Panamanian sovereignty. The United States views this as a threat to its national security and for this reason we have this conflict. It is important to support Noriega in the face U.S. imperialism's colonialistic ambitions. Based on this, our party is doing all it can to form a large coalition of patriotic forces, including nationalist military men, to have a nation united and ready to face the aggressive and conquest-like attitude of the North Americans and to save our country from a return to the days of oppression. Within this framework, our political relations with nationalist officers, with Gen Noriega in particular, are developing to produce a large transforming movement. [end recording]

To this we will add that the Panamanian people need solidarity from the Latin American people, and this solidarity will be important for everyone. The Pentagon has a secret plan to unleash low-intensity warfare in Latin America for the next 10 years. The plan calls for operations against all parties and organizations with anti-U.S. positions. Since the beginning of this century, Panama has been the site for anti-Latin American U.S. abuses. An end to this situation would help not only Panama, but all Latin American communities.

Panamanian on U.S. 'Brutal Aggression'
PA2811040688 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Statement by Amilcar Villareal, professor of the University of Panama's School of Economy, at an international conference on Latin American economic prospects and international affairs in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] We found the presentation made by the Latin American Economic System representative very interesting. He gave a very detailed report on the status of the economic crisis in Latin America. I would like to note that the material presented by the Latin America Institute, the position it presented to the conference, was very complete and very exhaustive.

In our opinion, the Latin American crisis is the result of a generalized crisis in the worldwide capitalist economy. We believe the Latin American crisis is manipulated directly by U.S. financial organizations, particularly the World Bank and the IMF, and that those organizations have a plan of structural adjustment for every country, based on the use of the foreign debt as a political instrument for aggression. In other words, the reaching or failure to reach a refinancing agreement on the foreign debt is used to exert pressure or coercion on each of our countries in their political actions in the international arena. At this time, my country is subject to a brutal aggression that comprises: in the economic area, a financial blockade; in the ideological and political area, destabilization, ideological aggression, and psychological warfare—and even the threat of military aggression. All of this is directed by the U.S. Government. An important factor in this has been the economic deterioration Panama has been subjected to as a result of servicing the foreign debt. In other words, at this point Panama cannot pay the debt, and the United States has no way of collecting it.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Presidium Holds 26 Nov Session

Deputies on Draft Laws, Estonia

LD2811002088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Report on 26 November USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, including remarks by Gorbachev and other speakers—recorded]

[Text] Matters concerning the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation were discussed at the session, which was chaired by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Proposals on the agenda and the procedure of the session were approved. [Moscow TASS in English at 2035 GMT on 26 November, in a similar report, adds: "The discussion of the issues put on the agenda of the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet involved Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Lev Zaykov, Vladimir Shcherbitskiy; vice-presidents of the Presidium: Pavel Gilashvili, Vitautas Astrauskas, Valentina Shevchenko, Georgiy Tarazevich, Gaybnazar Pallayev, Tashtanbek Akmatov, Pulat Khabibullayev, and Sulayman Tatliyev; members of the Presidium: Yefrem Sokolov, Stepan Shalayev, Viktor Mironenko, Gennadiy Kolbin, Rima Gavrilova; and Anatoliy Gorbunov, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR."]

[Gorbachev] As you know, the draft USSR laws on amendments and addenda to the Constitution and the USSR law on elections of USSR people's deputies submitted by the party Central Committee were put forward for nationwide discussion. The commissions for legislative proposals were at that time instructed to carry out work within the context of that discussion in order to summarize and, if necessary, draw up proposals of any amendments and addenda dictated by the discussion. The deputies' preparatory commissions and the commissions for legislative proposals of both chambers carried out this work. Now we should give the floor to Comrade Razumovskiy, on behalf of the two commissions. If you please.

[Razumovskiy] Esteemed comrades, it should be noted that the discussion of both draft laws is evidence of active and interested participation in this important political campaign by the Soviet people. More than 250,000 responses have been received. Various points of view—not infrequently mutually-exclusive ones—are expressed. One can, however, particularly stress the fact that the draft laws as a whole have received support and approval in full during the discussion by the whole people. People are convinced that major and practical steps are being taken in the real affirmation of the sovereignty of the Soviets and that the ideas of the 19th all-union party conference are being consistently implemented in the draft laws. An absolute majority of proposals are constructive and businesslike in character. At the same time, responses have been received of a kind that cite disagreement with individual provisions in the documents under discussion. Some proposals have been voiced that only those changes which concern the election of people's deputies should be incorporated in the Constitution, as has the opinion that the draft laws as a whole are unacceptable and that it is necessary to remove them from discussion—there were a few such proposals. At the commissions session it was stressed that one cannot confine oneself to a reform of the electoral system, one cannot hold elections without having an idea of the system of the state power organs and their functions.

After careful discussion of all proposals prepared by the sub-commission of deputies and expressed by deputies during the session, the chambers' legislative proposals comissions approved the amendments to the draft laws by an absolute majority, with two deputies abstaining. On the draft USSR law on changes and additions to the Constitution and Basic Law of the USSR, amendments were proposed to 26 out of 55 articles put forward for discussion. The amendments remove many issues which gave rise to differences during the discussion of the draft law.

[Announcer] Speaking about the amendments to individual points of Articles 108, 113 and 119, Comrade Razumovskiy stressed that the amendments make it possible to take greater account of the interests of the union republics and their sovereign rights. It is proposed to increase the norms of representation of the Soviet republics in the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet from 7 to 11 deputies. The numerical composition of the Soviet of Nationalities is being increased by 60 and of the Supreme Soviet, as a whole, by 120; now it will number 542 deputies. Backing was given to a proposal to expand the composition of the USSR Commission for Constitutional Supervision by including in it representatives from each union republic.

[Razumovskiy] In making these amendments to the articles' provisions, which to a specific degree concern the union and the union republics, the commissions proceeded from the standpoint that the draft laws being examined today are only the first step toward the implementation of the political reform, and that first of all it is necessary to establish in the Constitution only what is absolutely essential for the effective operation of the supreme organs of power.

The drafts therefore do not touch upon such sections of the existing Constitution as the economic system, national-and-state structure, and the legal status of individuals. However, all proposals and opinions on these matters should obviously be carefully studied and made use of in work on improving constitutional legislation.

The commissions have thus completed work on the discussion and examination of proposals and comments submitted during the nationwide discussion of the draft

laws on amendments to the USSR Constitution and the election of USSR's people's deputies. We consider that these draft laws, amended to take account of the discussion, can be submitted for consideration at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Their adoption will open up a new stage in the development of Soviet statehood which fully correspond to the tasks of restructuring.

[Announcer] The floor was then given over to Comrade Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussia Communist Party Central Committee.

[Sokolov] The draft laws have been discussed actively and with interest in Soviet Belorussia. More than 6,000 reactions have been received by the republican bodies alone. The overwhelming majority of these contain approval of the proposed documents. There are quite a lot of constructive proposals on individual articles and provision in the draft laws to be found in the remarks and additions received. Above all, there are some like the procedure for forming the highest organs of state power, a definition of the powers of the Congress of People's Deputies, and the procedure for electing judges. Many people believe it is essential to more clearly demarcate the competence of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Our people are by no means indifferent to the changes in the electoral system. Proposals are being voiced for criteria to be drawn up for the representation of public organizations in the supreme organ of state power, for the establishment of a specific inventory of such organizations, and also for some change in the number of deputies elected from them.

Overall, the republic's people view the draft laws as a major step forward on the road to implementing the fundamental political principle of socialism, the sovereignty of the working people and their direct involvement in resolving problems—both large and small—in the life of the country, the republic, and the region that arise en route toward intensifying restructuring.

The Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium does not share the position of the Estonian Supreme Soviet. I endorse the draft decree on this matter, too, which was introduced by the USSR Supreme Soviet Legislative Proposals Commissions.

[Gorbachev] I should like to ask a question of Comrade Pavel Georgiyevich Gilashvili.

[Gilashvili] I am listening.

[Gorbachev] This matter of the draft laws was fiercely discussed at your recent session—there was a great deal of interest. Wishes were expressed on two points in particular, I believe. Tell me, what do you think: Have your wishes been taken into account here?

[Gilashvili] You know, they do not seem to have been taken into account regarding Article 119. Especially as there was an or, and now it has been specified as an and [referring to the phrasing of Article 119]. Well I am not as thorough a specialist as those legal experts who worked on this and formulated it the way it has been proposed now. Properly speaking, we have started discussing all this since the 19th conference.

[Gorbachev] It seems to me that we have developed this formulation already with the participation of representatives from many republics, including the Baltic ones, and you took part in it, and others too. And the question has been formulated in the following way: The adoption of decisions on issues of national and state structure which are under the jurisdiction of the Union of SSR. And there is a whole section in the Constitution where all this is specified, all the articles. Thus, everything is based on the Constitution.

[Gilashvili] Mikhail Sergeyevich...

[Gorbachev continues] In my view, now we cannot think of anything better.

[Gilashvili] I have no questions.

[Gorbachev] All right.

[Announcer] The floor is given to Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Gorbunov] The discussion of the USSR's draft laws was held in a very vigorous manner and evoked great interest in our republic. It was noted that many directives of the 19th CPSU Conference were included, indeed, in the draft laws. At the same time, many (?people), especially in the initial period, failed to see a clearcut line toward the decentralization of administration and the expansion of the union republics' rights. The proposed regulations for electing people's deputies from public organizations by their all-union organs did not seem quite democratic, either. A destructive opposition took shape in the republic. The published drafts were being rejected without putting forward any alternative. Only the report on preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic issues provided a clearer idea of their advantages and faults. Only then did it become known that the Constitution was being renovated by parts and that a number of sections of the Constitution would be reviewed after the plenum, taking its decisions into account.

In the situation that has arisen, we formed a working group which developed specific proposals regarding amendments to the published draft laws on the basis of the national discussion of the drafts in the republic.

What are the main areas covered by our proposals? In our view, four such areas can be singled out. First, the electoral system; second, the representation of the union

republics at a congress of the USSR's people's deputies, in the chambers, standing commissions of the chambers, and in the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet; third, the authority of the supreme bodies of power from the point of view of restructuring, mutual relations between the state organs of the USSR and the union republics, and the provision of the republics' real sovereignity; and fourth, the organization of state power in the union republics and the sovereignity of the local soviets of people's deputies.

Having submitted the proposals we had drawn up to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, we satisfied ourselves that our thoughts coincided in principle with the main directions of work of the Commissions of Legislative Proposals of the USSR Supreme Soviet Chambers aimed at perfecting the drafts. A number of our proposals has already been taken into account, to a certain degree, in the new version of the draft that is being examined today and yet other proposals are being discussed in working groups.

Certain proposals, however, have not been taken into account. These include the issue of the representation of the union republics in the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, their standing commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet. The draft law on changes in the USSR's Constitution does not provide a full answer to this question. The union republics which include autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs in their composition, will be represented in a greater number. But the draft changes in the Constitution do not say what the situation with the representation of the republics in the Soviet of the Union, standing commissions and the central electoral commission will be. Esteemed comrades, there is very little time left before the upcoming session opens, yet there is time enough to find an optimum decision on the issues I have raised, one which would be acceptable for all the union republics and the union in general.

[Gorbachev] I would like to elaborate on this.

[Gorbunov] Yes.

[Gorbachev] You have made an interesting speech. Have you grasped the point that, on the whole, very important thoughts which have been voiced by many republics and not by republics alone but by other organizations, too, are being implemented? First of all, the fact that in the Soviet of Nationalities there is a rise from 7 to 11.

[Gorbunov] Yes, yes

[Gorbachev] This, in essence, coincides. This is one thing.

[Gorbunov] Yes, I support this ardently.

They are represented in the constitutional committee for the whole republic. They are represented in the electoral commission as well.

[Gorbachev] In the electoral commission as well. Now, about autonomy. Let's discuss this question. It is being raised by comrades from the Baltic republics: The question of autonomy, of autonomous republics. They are saying that other republics which have this autonomy will be better and more represented. But what will happen with Tatariya and Bashkiriya, where 3 and 5 million people live respectively? This is just the beginning. But look, we are now thinking of reviving what there was under Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, where it was the practice that where this or that nationality lived closely together in particular rayons or even rural soviets, or settlement soviets, they would make some sort of formula to implement their interests. Under Ilyich there were more than 5,000 such formations. And now here we are suddenly going to remove a large amount of autonomy. Why is that? There are 5 million each of them, and they are worse represented. On what grounds? We must discuss everything as a single whole. We are thinking of how, along with raising the status of the union republics in order to have both a strong center and strong, independent, dynamic union republics, we are thinking of the status of the national okrugs, the autonomous oblasts, the autonomous republics.

The main thing, I think, is that we have harmonized proposals. For we have thought of everything in order to strengthen and develop the republics' potential, and we shall continue on this path to the end. And this is the viewpoint of the Politburo, it is the viewpoint of the Central Committee.

[Announcer] Deputy Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Vorotnikov] Each person started to formulate for themselves particular provisions, so to speak, which ought to be introduced into the Constitution, and then when these laws were published, they were discussed very widely. They were discussed at meetings, they were also discussed at citizens' rallies, and they were discussed at sessions—that's to say, in various associations and forums. And literally millions of people took part in this work. But after all the proposals had been sorted out, about more than 20,000 different proposals were sent here to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and determined our attitude and submitted a whole series of points officially to the Supreme Soviet Presidium so that these remarks of ours might be taken into account. I must say that very many, not to say the majority, of our remarks have been reflected in the document which has been put forward today for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. I consider that the Legislative Commission has acted very actively and fruitfully on the draft...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Both commissions.

[Vorotnikov] Both commissions, yes, of both the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, and I consider that we can agree with these proposals.

[Gorbachev] Fine. Now, here is a note. Vitautas Stasevich Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuania Supreme Soviet Presidium, is asking for the floor. Please go ahead.

[Astrauskas] The policy of restructuring and glasnost, the tenets of the 19th party conference, have awakened the masses, but since the necessary experience does not exist certain restraints are inevitable. This is precisely the situation that has now also developed in Lithuania. We now have documents in which we can see significant amendments. I should at this point like to put forward the following question: Who knows anything about these amendments? There have been reports in the press that 26 our of 55 articles have been amended. But where, as it were, is the essence of these articles set forth? What changes have been introduced? It seems to me that we have also permitted some kind of delay here and these different movements have seized on the initial draft and are disseminating it. Here, I'd like to say, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that in general the legislation of the union needs to proceed from different standpoints. Essentially, the republics do not take part in creating union draft laws and I do not regard this as normal.

[Gorbachev] What does actually happen here if you really are getting such an impression? We dispatch many decisions on specific issues, if not to all the republics, then to the collectives, and hundreds of collectives approve them and listen to opinions.

[Astrauskas] I think that it needs to be from the very beginning so that the republics work together, in a common group.

[Gorbachev] And this means...

[Vorotnikov interrupts] That is what happens, in a working group. The representatives...

[Astrauskas interrupts] But if I, the chairman, don't know that there is a representative of this sort, what kind of glasnost does this mean exists? Not what it should be.

[Gorbachev] But you know, Comrade Astrauskas, I think that already as regards, for instance, working out problems of economic regional financial autonomy and local self-management, ideas like this have already taken off.

[Astrauskas] That's good. That's good.

[Gorbachev] At the first stage, the Gosplan chairmen take part, and now the chairman of the Councils of Ministers.

[Astrauskas] That is democratic, Mikhail Sergeyevich, and there are no complaints but...

[Gorbachev interrupts] Can we refer to the fact that we are amassing experience and growing wiser?

[Astrauskas] Of course, absolutely.

[Gorbachev] Good.

[Astrauskas] I'd like here to...

[Gorbachev interrupts] Incidentally, through the channels of the CPSU Central Committee, we have addressed all the Central Committees of the republics' Communist parties so that by the plenum all the republics will have submitted their topic. This was done about a month ago now. We are waiting, waiting, waiting. Waiting, comrades.

[Astrauskas] We do know this and it's good.

[Gorbachev] Moreover, it's you we addressed. We addressed the Academy of Sciences, our major representatives, and the creative unions. We addressed very many people, magazines, and research centers. These are great issues, great issues.

[Astrauskas] It seems to me, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that we need to determine more quickly the status of the republics and give them real independence [samostoyatelnost] in everything: in managing their affairs, in the economy, in culture, and so on. All this must, of course, be determined constitutionally. And it would be desirable not to delay the second stage of the reform of the political system. Our union will only gain from this, and the restructuring will be more stable.

[Gorbachev] I support your opinion, and I will even speak about this in my report. Fine. You know, I am looking at Comrade Mironenko and Comrade Shalayev. Why? Because we have had a very active discussion on the question of public organizations. If we are talking about my own position, I will say that I am an ardent supporter. I think that, because of the fact that—side-by-side with the representatives of territories and the representatives of state formations and autonomies—we are providing an opportunity of representing the interests of public organizations in the supreme body of power, this is a demonstration of the new stage in our democracy. The Komsomol and young people are always important to us in representing, indirectly, so to speak, these interests in the supreme body of power; and surely the women's soviets, or, say, creative organizations. Therefore, we in the Central Committee—all of us—are in favor of such a path, but there has been a very powerful debate on this. And it is up to the Presidium to listen to the opinion of the trade unions.

[Announcer] The floor was taken by Deputy Shalayev, AUCCTU chairman.

[Shalayev] I would like to inform the Supreme Soviet Presidium that the overwhelming majority of public organizations support the drafts of the law, although they have also submitted a great many proposals directly to the AUCCTU and directly to the commissions. We believe that the nomination of their own candidates to public organizations, Mikhail Sergeyevich, is a truly big

step both toward the development of democracy and toward solving in a practical way the decisions of the 19th party conference. This is also a step toward the direct participation by trade unions and other public organizations in the supreme organs of state power. And by direct participation in the supreme organs, they will be able to provide that very socialist pluralism which we are concerned about now, pluralism of opinions in the supreme organ of power. But there have been many questions and many proposals, including in the AUCCTU, to the effect that the nomination of candidates to public organizations should be held very democratically. We have considered, what I would call, a very broad democratic process of nominating candidates.

[Gorbachev] I don't know what sort of opinion you or other members of the Presidium have formed, but I think that many working people are thinking this: Isn't this just another channel by which the hierarchy will delegate from the top down?

But I think that on the whole, comrades, if anyone reasons in this way, then this is a mistake. I think that in speaking about trade union members and Komsomol members, it is necessary for the whole country to be embraced by them at all levels and they should be mainly for working people, who are in these lists, all the same. I do not think that we should scorn cadres in trade unions, the party, the komsomol. No, but all the same, every organization has to represent, has to be represented, that is.

[Shalayev] Here it is very important, Mikhail Sergeyevich, to create namely such a democratic system of creating the very list of candidates, to be able to take into consideration trade union organizations' views. It is envisaged that a majority of candidates for deputies from social organizations will be nominated directly in local trade union organizations. It is very important that in both the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union representatives of social organizations are represented. This is very important. This is why at this stage we consider it possible to submit for examination at a session of the Supreme Soviet draft laws with those amendments which are submitted by the commissions on legislative proposals.

[Gorbachev] Comrade Mironenko, what? What have the Komsomol members arrived at?

[Mironenko] Of course, we are unanimous in the fact that it is necessary to give the possibility to Komsomol as a sociopolitical youth organization, to give the possibility via a democratic path, to put forward its representatives directly as the country's people's deputies. We have experience; the first elections in multi-mandate okrugs have shown that the number of young deputies has fallen sharply. This is no doubt understandable; there is no need to dramatize this. People want to be represented in soviets by more mature, better prepared people with more authority. This is why, to a certain extent, such a proposal acts as insurance that whatever the outcome of pre-election struggle—and this no doubt will be the case and we will wage it and have our young deputies prepared, but all the same—the mass sociopolitical youth organization will be represented in the highest organs of state power. And its voice will be heard in the highest organ of the state power.

[Gorbachev] Comrade Shevchenko, Valentina Semenovna, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Shevchenko] Three days ago, we held a session of the republic's supreme soviet presidium at which we summed up results of the examination of these two draft laws in the republic. What are the political conclusions drawn? First of all, working people of the Ukraine on the whole found the draft laws all right, and understand well that this is the first stage of that work which our party is doing after the 19th party conference. I have to say that many remarks and proposals put forward by the Ukrainian Republic have been noted and also, at present, they have been taken into account in the new draft law which has been submitted to us.

The second conclusion which we arrived at was this—also another conclusion—a sort of political conclusion: that we have felt as never before the growing activity of people, and people understand that on the standard of work of the highest organ of the state power and local organs depends the success of restructuring and the further deepening of the process of restructuring.

Third, Mikhail Sergeyevich, I do not entirely agree with views expressed just now by Comrade Astrauskas and other comrades, when speaking about or suggesting that this draft was worked out in secret somewhere and that union republics have not been taking active part in its drafting. This is not at all so! Why? Because, first, in the deputies' commissions which have worked here and summed things up in our republic and in the USSR Supreme Soviet and commission of legislative proposals, in all these commissions representatives of all union republics are represented. But, Mikhail Sergeyevich, the main thing is—and is it not that those 120,000 proposals, so to speak, which were put forward from the Ukraine, or the 250,000 which Georgiy Petrovich spoke about, they have come from all parts of our country—is this not participation of union republics? Nationwide discussion, activity of people in the examination and involving the entire absolute population in this—to this—is a participation of each union republic. And I think that the contribution of the republic to the preparation of draft laws depends on how an individual republic was organized, on the work in every union republic, and in every labor collective.

I think that this has to be viewed in this way. And last, what has been said by Supreme Soviet Presidium members and working people of the republic that the reform of the political system and those amendments of draft

laws which have been brought in and the law which will be passed, have to be directed above all toward the uniting of union republics, toward the strengthening of our union, and not toward its uncoupling. This is what people are concerned about.

[Gorbachev] I want to inform the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, because I think it is of great significance, that we have received information from the Moscow City Soviet. After all, the position of the Moscow City Soviet is important for us, since it brings together the opinion of the working people of Moscow, and the position of the Muscovites is very important for us. The comrades' report...[Gorbachev changes thought] it appears they held a session yesterday on the results of discussion of the drafts in the city of Moscow. They evaluate them highly and stress that this is in the spirit of the 19th party conference, and that we are in effect already embarking on the first stage of the political reform. Thirteen thousand suggestions and comments were submitted by Muscovites to executive committees, local soviets and other organs. All this has been examined, all comments have been sent to the Commission for Legislative Proposals. Doubtless taking advantage of its position, the Moscow City Soviet has kept in constant contact, and they report that they have succeeded in implementing in one way or another the majority of their proposals which are fundamental in character. Some are still outstanding, and remain, taking account of the exchange of opinions in the Commissions for Legislative Proposals, for the next stages: These relate to the republics and local soviets.

So I have acquainted you with what Muscovites considered was in need of being reported—in brief from this information. Comrades, does anyone else want to say something else, or will we already wind up? Come up. I can do so then? I will then say just a few words by way of conclusion, since I think that no special speech is required.

Well, first of all, I want to say to all of you that both the Central Committee and the Presidium, and the apparatus—both the party's and that of the Supreme Soviet Presidium—have constantly kept in view the whole course of the debate on the drafts which have been presented for nationwide discussion and which have immense significance for our country and for restructuring. And major scientists and experts were involved in the analysis and generalization of the comments, as were, I will say, the representatives of the union republics, especially in the last stage when the Commissions for Legislative Proposals arrived at the stage of fomulation, getting down to details and so on. In effect almost all the republics were here. And some were here twice. That is the first point.

The second point. I think that you have noted that, as a result of such a democratic process of discussion of those documents, today we have draft laws which differ significantly from those which were earlier published and presented for discussion, and I think that these changes improve the drafts, and, most importantly, express the moods of the overwhelming majority of the working people of the country. These amendments take account of many comments, and some entries which evoked apprehension and misunderstanding have been removed.

Indeed, comrades, it must be borne in mind—we too, all of us, must bear in mind—that many proposals go beyond the framework of those questions which have to be resolved in the first stage. And they do not disappear, they do not vanish somewhere without trace, they do indeed remain, and are included in the elaboration, will be included in the elaboration in the implementation of the second stage of reform, when we come to the problems of harmonization of the union, the center, and the union republics, autonomy, and so on. This will be a most important stage for us, no less important, comrades, no less important.

[Announcer] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, taking into acount the results of the nationwide discussion and the corrections and additions to the draft laws put forward by the commissions on legislative proposals, adopted a decision to pass the draft Law of the USSR on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the USSR Law on the Election of Peoples Deputies of the USSR for consideration to the upcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium session considered the question of the actions taken by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet at its extraordinary session of 16 November 1988. A thorough conclusion presented by the Commissions for Legislative Proposals of the Chambers was given to those present by Comrade Razumovskiy. He said, in part:

[Razumovskiy] The Commissions came to the conclusion that Sections 3, 4 and 5 of the Estonian SSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Estonian SSR contain provisions which conflict with the norms of union Constitution. In considering this question, the commissions took into account that in effect, this touches on the basic principles of building the unity of the Soviet socialist federation, that a sovereign union republic exercises its power independently, but within the limits of the USSR Constitution.

The members of the commissions based themselves also on the principled provisions of Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, that the laws of the USSR have equal force on the territory of all the union republics, and in the case of the law of the republic diverging from the general union law, it is the law of the USSR which is valid.

Further, Article 4 of the Estonian SSR law proclaimed the republic's exclusive ownership of its land, its underground resources, air in its atmosphere, forests and other natural resources, and also part of the basic means of

production. From constitutional standpoints, such a deed directly contradicts Article 11, and point 7 of Article 73 of the USSR Constitution, and if you look more deeply you can come to the conclusion that in this case the economic system of Soviet society is being called into question, completely ignoring the fact that the Estonian economy is an indissoluble part of the national economy complex of the whole country, and that labor and resources of all the union republics have been invested in it.

The provisions of the Estonian law on private property also contradict our system and the relevant norms of the union Constitution. As for the declaration on the sovereignty of the republic adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, the provisions of this document also clearly contradict the norms of the union Constitution. If these provisions were implemented in our life, the fundamental basic principles of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would be undermined.

The commissions request that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in accordance with its constitutional powers, delare the specific provisions of the legislative acts of the Estonian SSR invalid. A draft decree by the Presidium on this issue has been approved by the commissions. Deputy Parik, director of the Experimental Model Kolkhoz in the Estonian SSR and member of the commission, voted against this proposal at the session of the commissions.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet also adopted a decision on the draft laws of the USSR on changes and supplements to the USSR Constitution and the Law on the election of USSR people's deputies. This decision expresses objections to several of the provisions of the draft laws submitted for nationwide discussion. It must be noted that significant amendments are being introduced into the draft law on changes and supplements to the USSR Constitution with regard to a number of positions to do with the powers of the highest bodies of state power, taking into account proposals made, among others, by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

At the same time, the commissions considered unacceptable the proposal not to include on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet a discussion on amendments to sections 12 and 13 of the USSR Constitution. This proposal is quite unjustified and also does not take into account the fact that the draft laws have received wide support among the public of the country and the highest bodies of power in the majority of union republics.

In the decision indicated, as in the resolution of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on the Union Treaty, there are proposals on questions of the national-state structure, and on the legal status of the union republic. The commissions would consider it expedient to consider them during the preparation of proposals, concerning submissions of amendments and supplements to the legislation regulating matters of relations among nationalities.

[Gorbachev] Good. Is there a question to be put to Comrade Razumovskiy?

[Razumovskiy] No. No.

[Gorbachev] I think that we are today discussing an important question, comrades. In essence, in connection with the adoption of these documents by the supreme soviet of one of our republics, we have been faced with a crisis, so to speak.

And I think that we probably must ask Comrade Arnold Fedorovich Ryuytel, all the same—well, so to speak, to give him the floor, and then to have an exchange. Please.

[Announcer] Deputy Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium, said in his speech, in particular:

[Ryuytel] We are currently carrying out intensive work on gaining an in-depth understanding of the problems of the republic's transition to financial autonomy and self-financing.

When the draft USSR law on the changes and additions to the USSR constitution was put forward for nationwide discussion, the republic saw in it a number of provisions encroaching on the sovereign rights of the union republics. Because of this, tension began to grow and the leadership's position turned out to be complicated. We have received thousands upon thousands of appeals from labor collectives, public organizations and movements, individual citizens, as well as the local party and soviet bodies which proposed, in particular, that an extraordinary session of the republic's supreme soviet should be convened to examine the situation that arose in Estonia during the nationwide discussion of the drafts mentioned earlier. There were also numerous proposals to change the constitution of the republic, examined by the groups of deputies and supported by them. At the deputies' initiative, the issue was put forward for discussion by the session which took place on 16 November. Such were the conditions and premises behind the adoption by the extraordinary session of our republics supreme soviet of political and juridical documents.

And now about the essence of the problems: The changes we have introduced to the Constitution have certainly not been made from some separatist motives or to destroy the unity of the USSR. Our aim is to fight against separatism. When the parliament of a republic, or its supreme soviet, strives by means of its own legislation to

protect itself from the possible deparmental claims and to create legal guarantees of the implementation of the process of restructuring, this must not be regarded as prejudice.

Dwelling, in general, on the amendments to the constitution of the republic, I cannot fail to remark that when we speak of them contradicting the USSR Constitution, one must not forget that social relations are, in the conditions of restructuring, developing at a rapid rate. This development, in our view, should be enshrined in the constitutional legislation. That is why the amendments adopted by the Estonian SSR's Supreme Soviet can be seen also as proposals concerning further improvement of our all-union constitutional legislation.

Legislation in keeeping with the processes taking place within society represents a most important condition for success of restructuring. The law should create prerequisites for the renewal of society—otherwise it becomes a brake on development. Obviously not everything that is being done to reorganize the union system of management must mechanically be copied in the union republic.

Proceeding from the specific characteristics and requirements of our small republic, we would like, for instance, to retain the Estonian SSR's Supreme Soviet as the highest body of state power and to refrain from setting up an even higher body, that is to say the congress of ESSR's people's deputies, and also to retain the right of the republic to define the procedure of the elections of people's deputies.

The public of the republic is very concerned about the question of the republic going over to regional financial autonomy and self-financing.

This, for us, represents a guarantee of a further development of restructuring and our hope that we shall live and work better. We also have proposals concerning the powers of the Soviet of Nationalities. It seems to us correct that questions concerning the development of the Soviet federation and elaboration of an effective mechanism making it possible to protect more reliably the constitutional rights of the union republics, should fall within the remit of this body. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] We have attentively listened to you. Yes, Yes. I think that we should state that the Comrade Ryuytel's speech confirms the position that they have assumed, and although several days have passed and despite the fact that this matter was examined in the commissions for legislative proposals, there has nevertheless been no transformation in this position.

I ask the Presidium members, considering the importance of the matter: let us discuss it, in a spirit of comradeliness, in a spirit of respectfulness and, naturally, of principle, for sure.

[Announcer] At the rostrum is Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

[Kolbin] It seems to us that this has been a hasty political action by our Estonian comrades, dictated not so much by reason as by emotions. The stand taken by certain sponsor [initsiativnyy] groups in that republic, judging by the logic of the crucial political decisions being adopted by them, leads in the final analysis into a nationalist dead end. Party members are fighters for the fulfillment of party decisions, in the political struggle, that is, in particular for the assertion of the party platform elaborated by the 19th conference, and this struggle should be waged first and foremost by the leaders of that republic, both party and state leaders, and all others. And I, for example, have not sensed such a struggle. I have not sensed even a mood toward organization of this matter, which you could not say about many other republics, whatever happens, whatever complexities there may be.

We had a difficult time with the Alma-Ata events of December 1986. Leaning on the bitter experience which we had to acquire, and tying up this difficulty with the work that we are presently conducting to settle relations between nationalities, we would like to say to our Estonian friends: Comrades! Be more careful and vigilant! You could lead things into the dead end of great national disharmony. Yes, we must learn democracy, and learn it persistently and purposefuly. Without habits of democracy and glasnost, and without a most profound sense of responsibility for the applications of the rights given by democracy, we could make a mess of things.

[Announcer] At the rostrum is Deputy Tarazevich, the Byelorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

[Tarazevich] I must say that I was not convinced by the arguments expressed today by Comrade Ryuytel. Apparently, for the majority of Soviet people, the question involuntarily arises: Why? What is this all about? The deputies of the supreme soviet of our republic tried to answer these questions both at the legislative proposals commission session and at the republic's supreme soviet presidium session, and all were of the unanimous opinion that under no circumstances could they share the position of the Estonian Supreme Soviet in those parts of it which contradict the existing USSR Constitution. And in analysing these opinions, one way or another, one has to come back to the question: What is it all about? Can anyone really assert today, taking a broad view, that the Soviet socialist community has in some way encroached on the Estonian people, has been unfair to them in some way? Hardly, in my opinion.

Certainly there have been departmental distortions, but these have occurred not only in Estonia. And we know well that work, including legislative work, toward eliminating these faults is in progress, and we are already seeing corresponding results of this work. Yes, we all,

and first of all the party, on the basis of a profound analysis of social life, have come to the conclusion of the need for changes. There are indeed many shortcomings and various distortions in the management of socioeconomic processes and the relationship of centralism and democracy. Quite a lot must be changed here. And this work is in hand. It is to this that restructuring is directed and the reform of the political system. Today, we are only implementing the first steps; however, one must again not forget the main thing. These steps must strengthen our union, all-state power, which is—by the way—implemented by all our republics and all our peoples. These steps must strengthen our socialist order, our unity.

I want to say one thing. Do not the roots of what we are discussing today lie in the unsatisfactory monitoring [kontrol] of the implementation of our constitutional standards, the low level of the application of the law? Quite correctly, it is proposed today, in the amendments to the constitutional supervision committee. I think that in setting up a state under rule of law, we must first of all, in the strictest sense, ensure the fulfillment of existing legislation and really respect the law.

[Announcer] Deputy Pallayev, chairman of Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet Presidium is speaking:

[Pallayev] It is not possible to turn our mighty federation into a loose confederation. After all, all that which every fraternal republic has at its disposal is the property of the union of the SSR and it has been created by the labor of all Soviet peoples. Close and firm mutual ties of fraternal republics, including those with Estonia, have been established. And we have to continue to develop and deepen them further. In conditions of the administrative system of commands, our federation has been subjected to various kinds of deformation amounting to excessive centralization. We all have felt it, and we talk about it. There has been insufficient attention paid or even simply, an ignoring of, republican interests and national peculiarities. But the way out of the existing difficulties has to be sought not on the path of separatism but on the path toward strengthening the USSR while widening the rights of union republics, and obviously these question will be calmly and in a businesslike way examined next year at a CPSU Central Committee plenum.

[Announcer] Speaking at the session, Deputy Akmatov, the Khirghiz SSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, said that in the course of examination of draft laws, soviets of people's deputies of the republic studied and generalized about a thousand remarks and additions from working people. The Kirghiziya Supreme Soviet Presidium approved these very important documents.

[Akmatov] I have been a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy for the past three convocations. We all together [words indistinct] decisions and as much as possible strived to put them into practice. We never had any thoughts about separate development of any republic, but namely of the mutually advantageous cooperation with union republics. The foundation of the inter-union division of labor has enabled us to reach the present heights. Thus, having acquainted myself with the decision of the Estonian SSR's Supreme Soviet, I say directly that I was very upset. How come in the beginning, representatives of all the 15 union republics, on behalf of populations of their republics, as those elected by the people, [word indistinct] adopt decisions which are binding for all, but their implementation depends on any one union republic? This, in my opinion, contradicts common sense. One must not forget that achievements of the Estonian SSR are the results of fraternal cooperation of union republics and the increased attention paid to its development by the union government in the postwar and subsequent years.

We all know that every republic still has no few unresolved questions and problems, but it is not possible to take things into extreme and it is necessary to look jointly for ways to resolve them by a joint effort. It is precisely unity which is our strength, the strength of all union republics, and one should not give way to emotions which blind reason. Restraint and wisdom are essential and these qualities will have to be demonstrated above all by Comunists and leading workers of the Estonian SSR. All the same, I would like to express a hope that reason will triumph over emotion, common sense over feelings. The hardworking Estonian people in united ranks of the peoples of the USSR will deal with tasks of restructuring and the renewal of the society and political life of the country.

[Announcer] Deputy Khabibullayev, Uzbek SSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, is at the rostrum. He said that draft laws have been examined and approved in labor collectives of all enterprises, collective and state farms, in creative organizations and among scientists. As a result of a great political work and the transition to new management conditions, the republic this year sold to the state 5.35 milion tonnes of cotton. Speaking about decisions adopted at the Estonian Supreme Soviet session, Deputy Khabibullayev said among other things:

[Khabibulayev] We condemn the amendments that have been introduced into the Estonian Constitution. They will be an impediment. Instead of consolidating the friendship that has come about at the present moment, they will be splitting it in a way. Therefore, I think that the comrades are right to speak the way they did today, and I will say, frankly, that it is not just a mere change in the Constitution but political adventurism presented as a fact before the Supreme Soviet Presidium, our people, and the Supreme Soviet. And, therefore, on behalf of the people of Uzbekistan and Supreme Soviet Presidium, I entirely and fully support the draft decree and the proposal of the legislative proposals commissions of the two chambers, which was submitted today.

[Announcer] Deputy Tatliyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of Azerbajijan SSR, mounts the rostrum.

[Tatliyev] I can definitely say that the overwhelming majority of the working people have expressed their disapproval regarding this issue, and it was frequently noted, categorically, that actions of that kind may have a negative effect upon the positive changes in the process of democratic reform in the country. It should be stressed that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted, from the very beginning, a position which made it possible for the Estonian comrades to self-critically analyze the things that had been done. It was pointed out that those decisions were at variance with our Constitution. We are members of a single union, not isolated republics. Any difficulties that may arise in one of them raise concern among all of us, and nobody can be left without support. In our view, the most important thing now is to oppose impulsive reactions. We must proceed, comrades, from state interests. I fully and entirely agree with the submitted draft decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Announcer] The floor is given to Deputy Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Shcherbitskiy] Some comrades somehow wanted to say that this is the price of restructuring. I categorically disagree with this. It is not the price of restructuring, but a line with regard to a fundamental question which is purely political, and which the local people—in the Ukraine, that is—currently perceive with great alarm. [sentence as heard]

It is clear, comrades, that, well, the political extremism so to speak, which has now been manifested in some parts, and of such a nationalist bent, is incompatible with the normal development of the democratic process which is now underway throughout the country and inflicts direct damage to the whole cause of restructuring. But who, in the first instance, if not the local deputies of the Union and Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, are to take a principled political line? Now it is the deputies of local soviets, and a half of them are party members. Yet where, you understand, are the party organizations? And where is the demand to fulfill the party rules? The attitude toward the laws which have been adopted in the country...[Shcherbitskiy changes thought] How can Communists take a line, which—you understand—is in blatant contradiction with the party rules and one's obligations as a Communist?

I think that the spiritual renewal of society is unthinkable without the complete trust among all nations and ethnic groups. Why is there such an attempt to posit the superiority of an indigenous—people of indigenous nationality—over all others?

[Announcer] Presidium member Gavrilova, a weaver, stressed that the documents adopted by the Estonian SSR's Supreme Soviet will lead to the undermining of our union as an integral, powerful state. She continued:

[Gavrilova] I remember the terrible time; I was still a schoolgirl then, when evacuees appeared in our town, including ones from Estonia and other Baltic republics. Together we learned in school. Together we lived in crowded communal flats. We shared our meager bread ration equally. And, believe me, no one thought of paying any attention to nationality. Estonian comrades have deemed that the earth, forests, waters, industrial enterprises, and other economic organizations are only the property of the republic. But how are things to be with all-state property? With the integrated national-economic complex, which includes the economies of every union republic? All of us are vitally linked to each other, like mother and child.

And I, for example, working in a weaving factory, have always proceeded from the premise that our enterprise is above all a tiny part of the property of the whole people. That is how it is entered, in essence, in the union's Constitution; and this entry is completely correct.

[Gorbachev] Arnold Fedorovich, I understand that you would like to say something.

[Ryuytel] I would simply like to, well, express thanks, and I am not just saying this formally, for all the comments and the criticism which have been made. So I request, all the same, that both myself and ourselves as well, as a whole, be understood. And I assure you that we are on the socialist path of development. It never even entered our heads that it might be different in some way. We absolutely never even thought of this. And there is no such talk in our country. This is not a problem of any degree in our republic.

[Announcer] In conclusion, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev delivered a big speech.

Decree on Estonian Laws

PM2711194488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 88 First Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Nonconformity of the Estonian SSR Law 'On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Estonian SSR' and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Estonian SSR, Adopted 16 November 1988, With the USSR Constitution and USSR Laws"]

[Text] On the basis of point 4, Article 121 of the USSR Constitution, which charges the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with monitoring compliance with the USSR Constitution and ensuring that the constitutions and laws of the union republics are in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the USSR, the USSR Supreme

Soviet Presidium examined the Estonian SSR law "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Estonian SSR" and the Estonian SSR declaration on the sovereignty of the Estonian SSR, and notes that their provisions are at variance with the USSR Constitution and USSR laws:

1. Article 5 of the Estonian SSR law provides for the registration of USSR laws by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by way of a preliminary condition of their operation on the republic's territory, as well as the right of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet in certain circumstances to suspend or set limits to the operation of legislative and other normative acts of the USSR.

Under Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, USSR laws have identical force on the territory of all the union republics. In accordance with point 4, Article 73 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR, in the person of its highest organs of state power and government, ensures the unity of legislative regulation over the entire territory of the USSR. It follows from this that the operation of USSR laws cannot be suspended or limited by a union republic and does not require confirmation by the republic's highest organs.

2. Article 4 of the Estonian SSR law proclaims the Estonian SSR's exclusive ownership of the land, its mineral resources, water, forests, and other natural resources, as well as republican ownership of "the main means of production in industry, construction, and agriculture, means of transport and communications, state banks, the property of trade, municipal, and other enterprises organized by the state, and the main urban housing stock, as well as other property necessary to the fulfillment of the Estonian SSR's tasks."

This provision is contrary to Article 11 of the USSR Constitution, which stipulates that objects of this kind are the property of all the Soviet people. Declaring them to be the property of the Estonian SSR is also contrary to point 7, Article 73 of the USSR Constitution, which places the leadership of associations and enterprises under union jurisdiction under the control of the USSR.

3. Article 3 of the Estonian SSR law states that private ownership forms part of the economic system of the republic. This provision is at variance with Articles 10 and 13 of the USSR Constitution, which do not provide for private ownership as one of the forms of ownership in the USSR.

4. Article 2 of the Estonian SSR law states that "legal entities are granted judicial protection of their constitutional rights." In accordance with the USSR Constitution and USSR laws the protection of the interests of enterprises, organizations, and other legal entities is carried out both judicially and through arbitration.

5. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet declaration on the sovereignty of the Estonian SSR states that amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution come into force on the republic's territory only after their approval by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and the introduction of corresponding amendments and additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution. This provision is at variance with Article 174 of the USSR Constitution, under which the procedure for amending the USSR Constitution does not stipulate the approval of union republican organs for the amendments made.

6. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet declaration proclaims the supremacy of the laws of the Estonian SSR on its territory. This provision is at variance with Article 75 of the USSR Constitution, under which the USSR's sovereignty extends to the whole of its territory—that is, also to the territory of each republic—and with Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, in accordance with which a USSR law has identical force on the territory of all the union republics.

In connection with the above, taking into account the findings of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Legislative Proposals Commissions, and guided by Articles 74 and 76 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has resolved:

1. To declare Articles 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the Estonian SSR law of 16 November 1988 "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Estonian SSR" and paragraphs three and four of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet declaration on the sovereignty of the Estonian SSR of 16 November 1988 invalid [nedeystvuyushchiy].

2. To declare it expedient, within the framework of the next stage of political reform, to formulate on the basis of constitutional norms a system of measures and legal and state mechanisms, having in mind, first and foremost, the potential of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities and the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee that is to be set up, in order to safeguard the political and socioeconomic interests of the union republics and extend and protect their sovereign rights within the USSR.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Legislative Proposals Commissions are instructed, with the participation of the union republics, to draw up corresponding proposals and submit them for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

M. Gorbachev

Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, Moscow, the Kremlin, 26 November 1988

Gorbachev Concluding Speech

PM2811095788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

["Solving the Urgent Problems of Harmonizing Interethnic Relations by Common Efforts on the Paths of Restructuring. Speech by M.S. Gorbachev at 26 November 1988 Session of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] [Moscow TASS in English at 1813 GMT on 28 November, in a similar report, provides introduction: "A meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was held in the Kremlin on November 26 and was chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Presidium summed up the results of a nationwide discussion of the USSR draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft Law on the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR.

"The Presidium adopted a decision to submit the draft laws to the consideration of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that opens next Tuesday.

"The meeting of the Presidium discussed acts adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Republic of Estonia at its extraordinary session on November 16. Since there is disparity between some provisions of the law and the declaration adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Estonia on November 16, on the one hand, and the USSR Constitution, on the other, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet declared them invalid.

"Concluding the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev said:"]

We are discussing today at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet the problem that affects the basic interests of our multi-ethnic state.

At first I shall make some general observations. The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and its Politburo continually emphasize that we live in a multiethnic state, that the Soviet Union is our common home. When drawing up and putting into practice plans of revolutionary restructuring, we should proceed from the assumption that we cannot count on success if the work for the transformation of society does not take into consideration the interests of all the nations inhabiting our vast country.

This is a political axiom, comrades. It is vitally necessary to us to enlist the support for restructuring of all the nations and nationalities of the country and to ensure their active participation, both political and manual, in the solution of difficult problems that we have set for ourselves.

It is very important, comrades, not to forget about it either in the center, or in republics, autonomous regions and labor collectives. The lessons of history, including our recent history, call for it.

The achievements in the union's development are truly historic. With all the existing problems, it is a unique formation. But at some stage it has been decided that everything has alrady been achieved. Meanwhile, life goes on and new generations arise. They are not born internationalists, confirmed supporters of what exists. Society embarks on a new stage. As a result of lack of attention to problems of interethnic relations, these problems have assumed a painful character and require a serious analysis and appropriate decisions.

It is precisely this self-critical approach to this tendency of the development of society that has made us aware of the need to hold a special plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. Its purpose is to make a profound theoretical analysis and to work out a well-considered policy suiting the present stage of development in this highly sensitive and delicate area of human relations in which utmost attentiveness and respectfulness are needed. I think we were right to tell the party and the country that we are to hold a plenum. And we have been doing our utmost to prepare it.

We have a good basis for this—I mean political directives of the 19th party conference on the questions of the development of interethnic relations. This will enable us to reach major decisions and, in the final count, to embark on a new stage of the development of interethnic relations. Broad participation in this process of party and government bodies of the centre and republics, of scientific organizations and the whole public will be required.

We still lack experience. The style of activity that would be fully in keeping with tasks of restructuring has not yet been developed.

We are all learning, and are doing this as we proceed, we are expanding at the same time our theoretical views and political notions and are mastering new approaches and methods. Not everything goes smoothly, I believe, including in this sphere. However, we want this proces to develop with the participation of representatives of all the nations and nationalities on the basis of Lenin's idea of the equality of nations.

Speaking about the new vast opportunities connected with the democratization of the life of Soviet society, we should not disregard the fact that if they are used not very skillfully, to put it mildly, and without a proper degree of responsibility, it is possible to make serious mistake that would have negative consequences. Society

is getting out of stagnation and is developing its potential, and along with this process attempts are being made to kindle dislike in the inter-ethnic sphere, in relations between representatives of various nations and nationalities.

Comrades, it would be disastrous, it would put in jeopardy our restructuring. Let us state it point-blank right here, at the meeting of the Presidium, and in front of the country. Some people regard the country and the world in general from their "individualistic" viewpoint. This is unacceptable. We must not permit a situation which would hamper restructuring and would even make some people think that it is, perhaps, restructuring that is to blame for all that.

This conclusion would be a serious mistake. Restructuring allows us to see our society in all the dimensions, to expose problems. We have worked out a scientific policy on this basis, and practical activities are now developing within its framework. It is a difficult process, but we must move forward along this path without blaming restructuring for even the slightest difficulties we come across. On the contrary, it is restructuring that shows to us the way to resolve all the problems, including those connected with inter-ethnic relations.

This conversation at the Supreme Soviet Presidium is an appropriate occasion to make a call, above all, for extreme responsibility to all the working people of the country—Communists and non-party people, veteran workers and young people, women, intellectuals. This is necessary in order to use the benefits of democracy and glasnost and to make our society advance along the road of renewal, achievement of new quality.

We must not permit anti-social, anti-restructuring elements, moreover, extremists of the nationalistic kind, to act within profound country-wide processes taking place also in such a sensitive area as interethnic relations. We must take a firm stand, must protect the restructuring policy, our choice.

No matter what attire such elements might don, no matter with what pledges and assurances they might try to cover up their real attitude, they parasitize on restructuring, and it is necessary to see through their actions. What extremism proposes in the sphere of interethnic relations is very far from the cares of the people, the interests of the working class, peasantry, the people's intelligentsia.

I must say we receive a great number of letters from working people in every republic with remarks that we are at times too tolerant with regard to extremists. So let us develop democracy and glasnost, let us be attentive and sensitive to the needs of every nation and people, minorities included, let us find the ways of resolving their problems on the lines of a radical economic and political reform and the envigoration of our society. We shall not make concessions to those who wish to palm off alien values on us.

Now I should like to express in a few words my opinion of the discussion at this meeting and, certainly, of the conclusion drawn by the commissions of legislative proposals, the speech of Comrade Ryuytel, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia, as well as of members of the Presidium.

To begin with, we are all concerned over what took place in Estonia. Working people all over the country are worried over the developments in Azerbaijan and Armenia, and now in some other republics. The working class expresses its anxiety, and it is understandable. Workers support restructuring, they take upon themselves the main burden of responsibility for its effectiveness and irreversibility, they closely follow the situation in all the spheres.

Look, comrades, how keenly workers respond to distortions in the cooperative movement, how resolutely they demanded that state bodies tackle this problem without delay and ensure conditions under which this important sector could develop in the interests of the whole of society.

Now we feel the concern of workers for the state of things in our union. Indeed, we have come across a situation when resolutions of the supreme body of power of one of the republics run counter to the USSR Constitution, and not on minor details, but on problems that affect the destiny of the whole of our union. This is why they should be recognized as erroneous and lacking juridical force.

The Presidium subjected to a political analysis the initial positions on whose basis the resolutions of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia were adopted. Comrade Ryuytel wanted to bring home to us that they had been adopted in a definite situation that had taken shape in the republic. We are taking it into account.

However, The leadership and the supreme soviet of the republic should have submitted those documents to all-round discussion before they were adopted. This was not done.

Now we should thoroughly analyze the essence of the matter in order to get out of this crisis (I shall call things by their proper names) with a feeling of confidence that we are on the right path and that our union will gain in strength within the framework of restructuring.

Take, for instance, the problem of property. The amendments adopted by the supreme soviet of the republic say that Estonia's land, its mineral resources, the atmospheric air, inland and territorial waters, the shelf, forests and other natural resources are its exclusive property. According to the amendments, transport and communication facilities, state banks, property of trade, communal and other enterprises organized by the state, the available housing of the cities, as well as other facilities needed for the fulfilment of tasks by the Republic of Estonia also belong to it.

This is a principled deviation from the existing Constitution. The land, its mineral resources, water and forests are the common property of the whole of the Soviet nation and are the exclusive property of the state. The principle means of production are also the national property. Hence, the mineral resources of Russia or Kazakhstan, for example, belong to the population of those and all other republics. Naturally, the situation is the same with the resources of Estonia. Now let us imagine what would happen if the Russian Federation assumed the stand which has been assumed by the Estonian comrades. What should be done in this case? Should we again convene the Presidium and say that it is a monumental mistake? However, there are no such sentiments in Russia. On the contrary, people there ask how it could all happen with our brothers in Estonia.

The provisions about public property on land, on other natural wealth, as well as on the main production facilities, banks, and other property registered by the constitution of the USSR, are the basis of the functioning of the country's economy as a single national economic complex in the interests of all nations and peoples. Raising the question of putting property of the Soviet people in possession of a republic means lapsing into a serious theoretical and political fallacy.

This would undermine the single economic system of socialist society, preclude the possibility of conducting a single socio-economic policy, would make it impossible to rationally distribute production forces and create single transport systems and power grids. Is it wise to make a bid for seclusion, for natural economy, when integration, division of labour, cooperation have become prevalent objective tendencies in the world, when it is precisely on the basis of the combination of means and resources that a breakthrough to new quality is made in many countries? We, too, have got convinced through the experience of the past decades that it is precisely on the basis of a single national economic complex, relying on division of labor and pooling of efforts that we have succeeded in bringing a backward country to a comtemporary level.

If we took the road of division, this would slow down the development and result in huge losses, would affect everything—material wellbeing and spiritual development. This approach runs counter to the entire course of our restructuring, to the economic reform and to a course at the democratization of public life.

Economics and its practice show convincingly that there can be full cost-accounting only in the main link—the enterprise, which is a socialist commodity producer. The system of cost-accounting on a republic's scale can be built only on this durable foundation. If there is no cost-accounting at the enterprise it will not exist at other levels, including a regional and a republican. It is necessary to bear in mind the main thing—the interests of the working class, of the working people, prospects for democratization. For it is through the economic reform that we involve the whole people in self-management. It is the economic reform that creates the conditions for independence of enterprises which cannot be the property of a republic or of any ministry, wherever it is situated, in Moscow or in Tallinn. This, I repeat, is public property which is managed above all by the work collective.

And another thing. How can one consider at all the division of railways, air services, power-generating facilities, the system of oil and gas supply, large-scale metallurgical and machine-building facilities? This is economically inexpedient and virtually unfeasible. However, as for the light, food and some other industries of the agro-industrial complex, local transport and trade, medical establishments, schools, public catering, it is commonly held that they should be in the charge of republics and even regions, cities, districts. This is a huge economy which serves people's needs.

The Estonian comrades intimate that they have been prompted to take their decisions also by the cavalier use of nature by certain centralized agencies. We share their indignation over such facts, but they take place not only in Estonia.

So we have a common concern in ecological matters, and we should act together.

Putting land and mineral resources in possession of separate republics would mean in a number of cases monopoly rights to unique natural resources, would lead to unjustifiable differentiation in the living standards. But territories and regions and, the even more so, autonomous formations and union republics are quite justified in demanding that plans for the development of productive forces be worked out with their vigorous participation. I think this is absolutely necessary, and these affairs should be put in order.

I believe there is a need for a juridical, state and above all an economic mechanism that could link a republic or a region with an enterprise at any level. There is no clear notion of these things and the quest continues, but the Estonian comrades made haste and sprang up a surprise on us, so to speak.

There is special concern over the fact that the documents discussed now permit the existence of private property alongside other kinds of property. We view pluralism of property as the variety of socialist forms which make it

possible to develop the initiative of every worker in full measure, to ensure real participation of working people in the creation of material and spiritual wealth. The restructuring of economic relations is called upon to expand the potential inherent in our system, in various forms of socialist property.

As is known, private property is the basis of the exploitation of man by man, and our revolution was staged for the purpose of eliminating it and turning over everything to the people. The attempt to restore private property means to move backwards, and it is a deeply erroneous decision.

The problems under discussion permit to point out the need for being consistent in the implementation of principles of the territorial division of labor and the deepening of the processes of economic integration. The striving for economic separation would have most negative consequences. Let us analyze it using Estonia as an example, if the Estonian comrades asked for it. The republic has made a tremendous headway, Estonians are hard-working people, and we have pointed it out on more than one occasion. According to the figures of the inter-branch balance, Estonia exports products of 79 branches of economy and imports products of 99 branches. A total value of its export and import in today's prices was 5.5 billion rubles last year.

This is the scope of interconnection of this small republic. Due to objective reasons, both natural and historic ones, its economy depends on the import of oil products, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, many types of machinery and equipment, and chemical products. Without all this the functioning of all the interconnected branches of economy, including those by which the export from the republic exceeds imports, is just impossible. One should not forget that Estonia receives raw materials mostly at prices which are lower than prices in the world market, that throughout the world those products are paid for with hard currency.

I am saying all this without any intention to reproach or hurt anybody. Our internal trade turnover is being carried out on the same basis— all other republics operate in the same conditions. However, it would be useful to us all to know how things stand in this sphere.

The republic's export and import reflect the territorial division of labor. Estonia supplies other republics with products of the light and radio engineering industries, confectionary, fresh and canned fish, cultural and household goods. At the same time, it is supplied with practically the whole of the sugar it consumes, vegetable oil and a considerable part of vegetables and fruit.

Estonia turns out mostly finished products which brings higher profits. The share of the light industry in the republic is 23 percent, and considerable resources, including from the centre, were invested in its development. There were good reasons for that: Estonia has traditions, expertise and skilled personnel. In other words, the division of labor has formed in the process of historic development, and the union is interested in using the existing opportunities. Look how it was taken into consideration. During the reconstruction of branches of Estonia's light industry more imported equipment was sent to it, and now it accounts for 50 percent of all the light industry equipment of the republic, while the figure for the rest of Soviet territory is 37 percent.

Estonia's agricultural specialization in livestock production is economically justified thanks to climatic conditions and experience. This benefits both the republic and the union. The results are good, if not the best by many indicators. At the same time, the republic meets 43 percent of its requirement for grain by importing it. This year Estonia was affected by disastrous rains: Crops were damaged and there was a huge harvesting shortfall—a mere 600,000 tons of grain were taken in compared to the normal harvest of 1.2 million tons. The union is here to extend its helping hand, and this is proper—for is it possible to leave one's people in a predicament? In the same way help is being directed to a number of regions in the Russian Federation that have found themselves in a difficult situation due to a crop failure.

Capital investments in Estonia's public agricultural production amounted annually to 13,200 rubles over the past twenty years in terms of 100 hectares of farmland, which is 2.8 times higher than the national average. But this justifies itself, this is an example of the very division of labor that enables each republic to produce as much as it possibly can, taking into account its natural conditions, historic specialization, development level and experience.

By the quantity of main assets, Estonian agriculture holds one of the first places, and I would even say that Estonian friends should think how to increase the returns. There are things here one should think over and work to improve.

Why am I saying all that? There is only one aim, comrades. We are one family, we have a common home, and we have accomplished much thanks to concerted efforts. Some people omit that now, or even try to idealize the bourgeois period in the development of the Baltic republics or the past of other regions. But we know how backward Lithuania was, or when the greatest number of people left Estonia because life there was impossible. We have read novels by Vilis Lacis who described life in bourgeois Latvia. So let us not deceive and delude youths and girls who cannot judge about that on their own.

Our future is not in weakening ties among the republics, but in strengthening them, in broadening cooperation. And this does not rule out the notion that those areas where people work better should get more. Estonian comrades were among the first initiators of that notion,

people in Kazakhstan and other republics are coming out in favor of that approach, too. We have already found keys to that in agriculture. A similar mechanism can be found in other spheres.

Let us look. And if someone thinks about improving the supply by reducing deliveries to the [illegible] republican funds, that is not correct. There will emerge a counteraction: You reduce this, we shall reduce that... and the bargaining will begin. We live in socialist society, and our path is to adjust and improve the available mechanism, to harmonize relations, as we say.

I could have produced evidence that fairness in Estonia today had not been breached from the viewpoint of living standards either. There are data available. But the entire meaning of the discussion is to show on the example of one republic how we are all linked by common destiny. Discussing the future, we ought to think how we will advance by pooling efforts and feeling one another's shoulder and support. Precisely support, rather than a turn towards subsistence economy, isolation and confederation. Such a path would be both theoretically erroneous and politically destructive. The entire 70-year experience of our country's existence confirms the need for strengthening unity of all our republics and developing USSR economy as a single complex. So let us take an oath at the Presidium that we shall constantly work on this, drawing lessons from the past, getting rid of everything that has added certain deformations to interrelationships within the union.

One cannot fail to notice the atmosphere in which the decisions that are now being discussed were adopted. One should mention that this is not only an Estonian phenomenon, it was manifested to one or another extent in other republics as well. And we should assess it from principled positions. Indeed, democracy and glasnost help people to express their viewpoint on any issue through the press, rallies and meetings. This must be welcomed, and this we wanted to generate in our society. But it is unacceptable when attempts are made not only to bring their view home to this or another medium, but also to impose it, exert pressure and distort the will of working people or deputies. This is no longer democracy. Therefore let us stop within the framework of democratic process those who are trying to hamper its normal functioning.

Our people are for democracy, for glasnost, and I think that society will not return to the previous state. A resounding demand is being made now, especially on the part of the working class, that it is necessary to stop the demagogues, those who embark on political speculations taking advantage of the processes of democratization and glasnost. Comrades here criticized the press. The press, too, should have responsibility, everything in this country belongs to the people and should meet the interests of the people.

As soon as such a phrase is exressed, one hears: Glasnost is being curbed. No, we are only protecting the process of restructuring, democracy and glasnost against extremism, irresponsibility and demogagy. One should take a clear-cut stance, but some of our comrades, both in the party and soviets (councils), have given way now, so to speak, to populist ideology and are afraid of losing authority. I will tell you: It is the one who gives up principled positions who loses authority.

The lesson of Lenin's entire life is that the most correct policy is a principled policy. At times it is necessary to brave the wind, to look into the essence of processes and uphold vital interests. In the way Lenin upheld them when the revolution, Soviet power were at stake. I mean the Brest Peace Treaty, the New Economic Policy.

The Communists, leaders both in party bodies and soviets must be principled since people value that. While "time-servers" who flirt with everybody cannot count on support.

Returning to the documents of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia, I want to state that we ought to see the legitimacy of the many real questions which Estonia has come to face and which demand their solution. We ought to be attentive to them as much as possible, and the working people of Estonia and its Supreme Soviet must know that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet understands and shares their concerns.

This shows yet another time that we have a problem of harmonizing the center and the republic. And I think that we have succeeded in accomplishing much in the acute situation over the past few days, prior to the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, within the framework of democratic process so as to improve considerably, with due account for the proposals put forward by the republics, the draft laws submitted and to achieve accord practically on all issues and bring them to the session.

I agree with remarks of the comrades: Narrow departmental interests are so hypertrophied in this country that sometimes they turn into diktat. Do you think that people in Russia do not feel it? I had a conversation recently with comrades from the Non-Black-Soil area. So many problems have accumulated there because of the departmental diktat, so many mistakes were made in the arrangement of productive forces in the region which is the birthplace of the Russian nation, of Russian statehood. How can we ignore the concern of the Russian people over the fact that it is the region to which all the people in this country owe a great deal in some or other way that has found itself in this situation? Industry drained the lifeblood off the countryside there, and the region that has an enormous agricultural potential does not produce today all that it could produce for the people. This is why when Estonian comrades raise the problem of the diktat of union departments, it is a real problem, and I think that anyone can find cases to

confirm that. But we intend to resolve this issue and we will resolve it without fail! That is the nub of the matter. Much is being done today for the Non-Black-Soil area.

And, finally, there exist problems connected with the development of the language, culture, national symbols, and we are not indifferent to them. For example, there is a 6,000-strong nation with its own language, culture and history. Should we permit the disappearance of that nation and its language? It will be a great mistake and even a crime if nationalities begin to disappear, if everything is smoothed out. No, we shall achieve the consolidation of our federal state on the basis of a further flourishing of all the nations and cultures. This is a wealth and not a weakness of our union. Many real problems raised by republics today are being resolved, and there is no need to wait for the plenary meeting for that purpose.

On the whole, I wished to make it plain that we do not neglect the concern of our Estonian comrades, that we are aware of it and, I think, will arrive at its solution by common effort at the subsequent stages of the political reform.

And finally, I would like to comment on the considerations expressed here. One way or another, everybody was saying that in the framework of democratization and development of our federal state we should have a more efficient mechanism that would ensure the due level of the implementation of the rights of constituent republics, autonomous republics, autonomous regions and districts. Therefore, if you agree, I would supplement the draft law with the following clause: "To deem it expedient in the framework of the next stage of the political reform to work out on the basis of constitutional norms a system of measures and state-legal instruments, bearing in mind, above all, the potentials of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Constitutional Supervision Committee being formed for ensuring political, social and economic interests of constituent republics, and for the widening and protection of their sovereign rights in the Union of Soviet Socialists Republics.

To instruct the Commissions of Legislative Proposals of the Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities to draw up appropriate proposals with the participation of constituent republics and to submit them for consideration of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium". (Voices from the auditorium: "That's right!"). We will adopt them.

I think we have devoted to this important matter as much time as it deserves. We now arrive at a new level in its understanding and this will promote the consolidation of our federal state in the framework of restructuring, democratization and glasnost, political reform.

Special Supreme Soviet Session To Open 29 Nov

LD2611231688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] The 12th extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation, in a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, will open at 1000 [0700 GMT] on 29 November in the Hall of Sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Grand Kremlin Palace. A session of the Councils of Elders of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be held on the same day at 0900 [0600 GMT]. Deputies' registration is being conducted from 1000-1900 [no date given] in St George's Hall in the Great Kremlin Palace.

Gorbachev Addresses CPSU Plenum

LD2811072388 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—A plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee opened in Moscow today. On the agenda are measures to effect political reform in state development.

A report is being delivered by general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev.

Estonia Considers Supreme Soviet Session

Party Rejects Verdict

AU2811081188 Paris AFP in English 0802 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 28 (AFP)—Estonia's Communist Party leadership has flatly rejected the Kremlin's dismissal of its decision to take a right of veto over laws passed in Moscow, official Estonian sources said Monday.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on Saturday declared null and void the veto adopted by the Estonian parliament.

An Estonian Foreign Ministry official, contacted by telephone in Tallinn, said that Estonian leader Vaino Valyas had declared in an interview on local television Sunday that "we will move towards sovereignty regardless of the Presidium decision".

"Perestroyka (restructuring) in Estonia carries on," he said.

Soviet television Sunday showed Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev banging his fist on the table and stabbing his finger in the air as he told the Estonians that their "sovereignty" ideas were unacceptable. He said that the union of Soviet republics needed to be further strengthened, not weakened.

A top leader of an unofficial political movement with mass support in Estonia, the Popular Front, told AFP Monday that "we will take no notice of the Presidium".

The Popular Front spokesman, Rain Veideman, added that the Estonian parliamentary vote on November 16 "reflects the will of the people".

Estonia's Ryuytel, Kiris React

LD2611224788 [Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1700 GMT on 26 November, in its "Echo of the Day" program, reports on today's USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session and the immediate Estonian reaction to the plenum. Reception is very poor.

Correspondent Juhan Virkus says that it took the Presidium 3 hours to discuss the resolution of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet's extraordinary session. Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, says that first of all Razumovskiy provided information on our constitutional amendments to members of the Presidium and to other people present. Then Ryuytel was given the floor.

Ryuytel explains how the situation evolved which led to the need to convene an extraordinary session and how it came about that amendments were made to the Estonian SSR Constitution. A discussion followed, with the chairmen of other republican Supreme Soviet Presidiums present. They expressed their views, as did other members of the presidium.

Ryuytel was then called upon to provide a number of explanations. Ryuytel says: "Gorbachev then directed the discussion in a very lively fashion and expressed his own views. Finally Gorbachev summed up and demonstrated what kind of integration exists for our republic with other republics and the union in both economic and cultural life. This was followed by a resolution being adopted."

Ryuytel says that the first point of the resolution (?invalidated) all the amendments made to the Estonian SSR Constitution. Ryuytel says: "The essence of the second, very generally worded point, constituted the fact that it is indeed necessary to adopt an attentive attitude toward the interests of union republics, problems of sovereignty, and in an economic, cultural, political, and any other sense."

Virkus then asks Estonian Justice Minister Advig Kiris to describe the resolution adopted today. Kiris says that it was no surprise to see the amendments to the Estonian Constitution declared invalid, because of Article 74 of the USSR Constitution. Juhan Virkus asks: "Well, we at home still want to know if we have now lost or won." Kiris replies saying: "It is very hard to say. [passage indistinct] then it seems that we have won because all those points which in our republic were in the draft constitution [words indistinct], those have now been altered (?and have acquired) wording in this direction as our proposals had. Had these only been done because of our opposition, or perhaps there were also other proposals? But in this respect we have certainly won. Also this point in the resolution [words indistinct] to charge the Supreme Soviet Presidium with the task of working out a legal mechanism for the union republics' sovereign [passage indistinct]. At the same time we must have stood out by our political balance, which perhaps is our political [word indistinct]".

Ryuytel adds: "I would perhaps carry on the thought of Comrade Kiris from the viewpoint that win or lose, like you asked, perhaps one should not word it like this. On the whole, if we talk about the process of democratization, then we know that this is a continuous and practically endless process. For this reason I would not use these terms, but I would say, undoubtedly a very serious shift has taken place in this process of democratization; I mean, on the way toward a law-governed state (?but we are still) very far from it." Ryuytel says that Estonians should participate very actively in working out the measures as per point two of the resolution, in order to demonstrate that this is for the benefit of the USSR. He concludes: "It is unlikely that the very first resolution adopted on the basis of point two will immediately be of the kind that (?we would like to see)".

Popular Front To View Decision

AU2711140588 Paris AFP in English 0817 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, Nov 27 (AFP)—Leaders of a mass movement in the Baltic state of Estonia on Sunday called an emergency meeting to discuss the Kremlin's annulment of Estonia's decision to take a right of veto over laws passed in Moscow, Estonian sources in Tallinn told AFP.

Andres Ottensen, a member of the movement called the Popular Front, refused comment on Saturday's decision by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the country's top state authority, until after Sunday's meeting.

But other Estonians reacted angrily to the decision which appeared to put the Kremlin on a new collision course with the strongly nationalist Baltic republic seeking "sovereignty" from Moscow. [passage omitted]

Estonian economist Tiit Made, contacted by telephone in the Estonian capital, said: "we need sovereignty and economic freedom now". Mr. Made, who is vice-president of the environmental Greens movement, said the Estonians would continue their autonomy campaign.

He said the Kremlin decision was "quite a good lesson for us. Now it's clear that words about 'democracy' and deeds are two different things".

Up to 30,000 people demonstrated in Tallinn on Saturday to support the position of the Estonian delegation headed by President Arnold Rujtels, according to the Estonian sources.

The Presidium announced that constitutional proposals to be put to a Supreme Soviet session on Tuesday had been substantially amended, but did not give details.

Front Member on Resolutions

LD2811014288 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] [Anouncer] An hour before this program began, an extraordinary session of the Popular Front Council ended at Trade Union House. The questions on the agenda, as you would expect, concern us all. Edgar Savisaar, member of the board of the Popular Front, can you perhaps be a little more specific?

[Savisaar] Yes, the main question of course was the resolutions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 26 November, when an assessment was made of the resolutions adopted at our 16 November session. They were discussed today. We are very glad that we now know the position of the Supreme Soviet, the USSR Supreme Soviet.

We also put together our position, based on the declaration of sovereignty of the Estonian SSR. This is not to be questioned legally; it expresses the will of the people. Based on our declaration of sovereignty, we find that the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted on 26 November is not in accord with the USSR Constitution; it is not in accord with Article 70 in respect to the peoples' right to self-determination or with section 1 of Article 76 in respect to the union republic being a sovereign state. For this reason we also believe—the Popular Council believes—that that resolution will not be registered in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in accordance with our amendment to Article 74. For this reason, the resoution will not take effect on the territory of the Estonian SSR.

At the same time [word indistinct] a resolution was adopted to this effect: A letter was sent to publishing houses proposing an immediate massive print run of the Estonian SSR Constitution, including the amendments made on 16 November and those which will be made concerning language and citizenship, which will be made at a session on 5 December.

A separate resolution was adopted in connection with this campaign which has been unleashed against our republic in the all-union press. The aim of this campaign is to lead us out of [word indistinct]; the aim of this campaign is to aggravate relations between nationalities in Estonia, to make us feel that we are an anomaly of some kind. We are warning that the responsibility for such distorted and false information will fall entirely on the all-union press, in respect to all the consequences which result from such a distortion of information.

We also discussed the main questions for the 5 December session, and the Popular Front adopted the view that we will try at the 5 December session to discuss the concept of changing over to self-management and a corresponding draft law, a law declaring Stalinism to be a crime against humanity, the rehabilitation of victims of Stalinist repressions, and also the language law.

Constitutional Hopes 'Quashed'

LD2611174888 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] And now the latest news from Moscow. Our correspondent Hannu Vilpponen has been following the session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium where the matter of Estonia has been discussed. Hannu Vilpponen, we are broadcasting direct. What has been decided on the Estonian Constitution?

[Vilpponen] Well, I met Estonian President Arnold Ryuytel some 15 minutes ago straight from the Kremlin. He said that the dispute over the Constitution has been taken off the agenda, and that this happened in a very simple way. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has quashed the decisions of the Estonian Supreme Soviet; and the Estonians were satisfied with this. I asked Estonian Minister of Justice Advig Kiris how this is possible in practice. How could they make a decision like that if they knew that it could be quashed in this way, even by the decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium? He just said that we have to learn democracy, and the people's will in Estonia was so strongly behind these decisions that the Estonian Supreme Soviet could do nothing but make these decisions. So apparently in some way they are thus learning democracy. Now, however, Estonia has had to give in to everything that was demanded last week by the supreme soviet.

[Announcer] So what do they intend to do in Estonia now? Is anything clear about that? Are they satisfied with this decision?

[Vilpponen] Well, the Estonian Supreme Soviet will no longer discuss the matter. The minister of justice said there is no need. As to the decision made here today, well, it (?isn't) enough for the Estonians. I don't know what their feelings will be when they hear this news for the first time now, through Finnish radio—the decision was made just a few minutes ago, during the past hour.

Estonia did not receive approval for its own proposals for changes in the Soviet Constitution as such. President Gorbachev stated here in his talks today that Estonia is not a singular problem; Estonia is not a problem on its own—there are similar problems within many other

republics, so these matters have to be discussed together. The matter is extremely serious, and he has promised to take into account—the Supreme Soviet Presidium has promised to take into account—Estonian views, but in practice this is likely to mean that proposals for changes will not be approved as such.

At the same time, early this evening I found out that apparently at next Tuesday's Supreme Soviet session, a common front would not be created between Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, and Armenia—these being the republics whose supreme soviets have so far submitted proposals demanding changes to the Soviet Constitution. However, each republic, each deputy, will vote according to his conscience. But as President Arnold Ryuytel stated, the Constitution (?has) so many points, and so many opinions, that apparently next Tuesday there will be many votes, and [words indistinct] be approved unanimously.

In light of today it looks as if there will not be any large-scale changes to the Moscow model. No promises have been made that the republics will receive any more economic independence. Minister of Justice Advig Kiris stated something along the lines that we perhaps won so much support that [words indistinct].

[Announcer] What (?do you predict)?

[Vilpponen] It is difficult to (?comment) [word indistinct].

[Announcer] You mean difficult to predict what will happen in Estonia?

[Vilpponen] It is difficult to predict what will happen in Estonia. It is clear that the people are be satisfied with this sort of decision, and the president had to be very diplomatic in his replies. However, this day has shown (?who) still has the power, and the Estonians have apparently [word indistinct] this power.

Vyalyas Says Reforms To Continue

LD2711172088 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Estonian party leader Vayno Vyalyas says that Estonia will continue its reforms and that it will not give in. Vyalyas traveled to Moscow today and said while leaving the airport that some decisions in Estonia have apparently been made too quickly. He urged the citizens to calm down. Also, a delegation of the Popular Front is meeting in Tallinn. Antti Halinen reports from Tallinn.

[Halinen] Estonia is now making history. This statement made today by a high-ranking Estonian official might sound old in light of the political uproar during the last few weeks, but this is the feeling that you easily sense here in Tallinn. According to the same official, the decisions made by Moscow were expected. The same line will probably continue the day after tomorrow at the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

Here in Tallinn they are expecting a session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet to be held at the beginning of next week. Moscow would obviously want the Estonian Supreme Soviet to also cancel its own 16 November decisions. According to the same source the tense political situation in Estonia would surely be heightened if the Estonian Supreme Soviet cancels these decisions.

Estonian party leader Vayno Vyalyas traveled to Moscow this afternoon together with those Estonians who are members of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In his statement at the airport Vyalyas stressed that Estonia will continue the line of reform. We will not give up those ideas and decisions made by the Estonian Supreme Soviet, Vyalyas said. He also referred to the statement made by General Secretary Gorbachev in India, according to which there is perestroyka in Estonia.

Vyalyas also saw something positive in yesterday's decisions. Now the sovereignty of the republics, economic independence, and the idea of a federation between the republics and the central administration have been brought to the level of all-soviets and to discussion. According to Vyalyas a committee should now be established which would start writing a totally new constitution for Estonia.

Vyalyas urged the citizens to be calm and wise, because sentimentality, demonstrations, and conflicts will not improve the situation. Tallinn has been quite calm today. However, yesterday there were mass meetings arranged by the Popular Front throughout the country. The mass meetings supported the decisions made by the extraordinary meeting of the Estonian Supreme Soviet and gave advice to the Estonian members of the USSR Supreme Soviet traveling to Moscow.

Today a delegation of the Popular Front is meeting here in Tallinn after having started its session in the morning. The statement given by the Writers Union will probably provide a good picture of the general feelings of Estonians. The narrowing of the rights of the republics, new steps to centralize power within the central administration, the settling of important national questions too quickly, and abandoning the principle of direct and uniform elections—all this can lead to a decline in perestroyka and take from us the enthusiasm and belief for tomorrow, the statement said.

Vyalyas Departs for Moscow

LD2811011688 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Report on departure of Vayno Vyalyas, Estonian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, for Moscow to attend a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet—monitored in progress]

[Text] [Vyalyas] ...I am setting out (?with) a good deal of optimism. Once again—I am speaking to the Estonian people—I want you to act wisely and keep your feelings

in check because emotions, passions, and demonstrations will not improve the situation at the moment. We will, however, improve it with sensible and constructive work, and for this we are ready.

[Correspondent] The plane is waiting to take off and at this moment we would like to say: Come back with the goods [traditional wish for good luck when someone goes fishing], and may the winds be favorable.

[Vyalyas] Thank you. Those words are, of course, excellent, keeping in mind also my fate as a fisherman. Permit me to thank you for those kind words to see me off, but I cannot answer as a fisherman would. Let us hope that after returning from Moscow our interview will continue and we will be in a position to provide more precise information.

Once again, I would like to say to the people: All the best. Go willingly to work and rest easy. Keep your emotions in check and act sensibly.

Ethnic Unrest Continues in Azerbaijan, Armenia

Transportation Modes React

LD2511202588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Nakhichevan: In connection with the stoppage of trains in the territory of [name indistinct] rayon of the Armenian SSR, the Azerbaijan SSR Civil Aviation Administration has double the number of flights of YAK-40 aircraft on the Baku-Nakhichevan air route.

Four aircraft that took off from Baku today landed in the capital of the autonomous republic. This maintains a reliable air connection between the two cities. The AZERINFORM correspondent was informed at the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Council of Ministers that flights will continue in this way until the necessary order is maintained in the Nakhichevan, (Uftugt), and (Aras) stations of [name indistinct] rayon of the Armenian SSR.

Group To 'Avenge' Armenians

AU2811115688 Paris AFP in English 1148 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Rome, Nov 28 (AFP) - An Armenian group responsible for bloody terrorist attacks in Europe threatened on Monday to avenge the killing of Armenians last week by Azeris in the Soviet Union's Azerbaijan Republic.

In a telephone call to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, an unidentified man claiming to represent the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) warned that the group will "avenge the blood of the Azeris' innocent Armenian victims".

ASALA, the largest known Armenian terrorist group, has mounted a number of attacks in Europe against Turkish interests and officials. The worst, against the Turkish Airlines counter at Paris' Orly Airport in 1983, left eight people dead and more than 50 wounded.

The caller urged Armenians "living in Baku (the Azerbaijani capital), Kirovabad and Sumgait to take measures to protect themselves".

Clashes last week between Muslim Azeris and Christian Armenians left a number of people dead and wounded in Baku, Kirovabad and Nakhichevan. Sumgait was the scene of murderous ethnic violence last February.

The caller also expressed support for Soviet Armenians' demand that the mainly Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, now part of Azerbaijan, should be reincorporated into the Soviet Republic of Armenia.

Correspondents on Baku Situation

LD2511200988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1839 GMT 25 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our special correspondents report from the Azerbaijani capital [caption attributes report to M. Mamedov, V. Batalov, V. Gusev, and B. Zamchinskiy]:

[First correspondent] At first sight, Baku is going about its normal everyday life. City transport, food shops, and vegetable stalls are operating. Everything appears to be calm in the city, but this is only a superficial calm. The lecture halls are empty of students and the work collectives and factories are not operating. This will without a doubt affect the republic's economy. [video shows shoppers at a fruit and vegetable stall, people catching a bus]

Passions and emotions that have filled the hearts of Baku's residents spill over into the city's main square. Meetings of many thousands of people continue here. People come here to express what troubles them today in connection with the events in the Nogorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and areas surrounding it.

[video shows an overhead view of a city square containing people as far as the eye can see, as well as men on a podium, one of whom is addressing the crowd]

[Second correspondent] There is currently a special situation in the city; a curfew has been imposed. This is, more than anything, a precautionary measure. Those gathered in the square indisputably include antirestructuring elements, who are suited to the present situation. Manifestly inflammatory demands can also be heard here.

Moreover, in a number of areas of Azerbaijan, attempts have been made to provoke disorders. And yet there are more of those who call for the maintenance of order,

calm, and self-possession, which are necessary to our whole republic in these difficult days. [video shows at least four armored personnel carriers [APC's] parked in a city square. Troops stand on and sit in the APCs; some stand next to them. Another shot shows at least three tanks parked along the side of a street. Young boys stand on the middle tank talking to a soldier. Additional shots shows traffic moving in city streets, a man addressing a crowd]

Workers Refuse To Print Daily

PM2511175288 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

["Own information" report under the rubric "Learning Democracy," plus unattributed postscript: "Why the Newspaper Was Late"]

[Text] Moscow—On 25 November IZVESTIYA subscribers in the Azerbaijan SSR received the newspaper's latest issue very late. The problem was that the entire Azerbaijani run—and that is 134,000 copies—had to be printed in Moscow and delivered to Baku by air, for the Baku printers refused to print IZVESTIYA. What happened?

The previous day, at 1500 on 24 November, a representative of our publishing house in Baku reported by telephone: Workers at the local printing plant have declared that they will not print the central newspapers because they do not report anything about events in Azerbaijan. The ultimatum: If the newspapers are silent again today, we will not print them.

The director of the publishing house and printing plant of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee called a meeting of the labor collective, at which senior officials of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee apparatus and representatives of the public were present. The debate continued until 1900, but even then the arguments led nowhere. By that time, strictly on schedule, a page of the latest issue of IZVESTIYA carrying a report on rallies in Baku and Yerevan had been transmitted from Moscow by facsimile. But this time the printers were upset because the mention of the construction of a shop at an aluminum plant in the resort village of Topkhana, which served as the grounds for a new flare-up of passions over Nagornyy-Karabakh, was insufficiently detailed, while the events happening in Baku were not reflected objectively, in their opinion. Moreover, in the text, the village was named as Topkhan, not Topkhana, as it really is. This last point was apparently the "conclusive argument" for refusing to print the newspaper at all.

We apologize to our readers for the inaccuracy. But we cannot fail to note the highly unusual interpretation of glasnost and democracy, under whose slogans the complaints are made against the newspaper. As you can see, the essence of the demands amounts to only one thing: The newspaper should reflect only our viewpoint, and no other. Yet this position has already been condemned roundly in numerous letters to IZVESTIYA sent from Azerbaijan. ["Own information" report ends here]

IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in Baku, R. Talyshinskiy, reported at 1600 on 25 November that the printing plant workers are continuing to refuse to print the newspaper today.

'Highly Complex' Situation

LD2611101188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov (TASS)—The situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan, where clashes have occurred on interethnic grounds, "remains highly complex," according to the Army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, whose special correspondent has returned from the Transcaucasus.

The situation is alarming in Yerevan, Baku, Stepanakert (the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast), and in Agdamskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan, where a curfew is in force and industrial enterprises are not at work. Rumors able to heighten an already tense situation are being spread, often purposefully and deliberately. Here, too, arms are being confiscated from people of both Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality.

The journalists reports, among other things, that the oblast party committee building was damaged as a result of mass disturbances in Nakhichevan (an autonomous republic that is part of Azerbaijan). Extremists set fire to a bus and damaged a good deal of other equipment. A curfew has been introduced in the town.

Serious incidents, the military journalist writes, were provoked by extremists in Kirovabad (Azerbaijan). On 22 November hooligan elements surrounded the city party committee building and committed excesses. When soldiers surrounded the building, insults and threats were directed at them. Then stones flew. Somebody in the crowd threw a live grenade. As a result of the explosion, a lieutenant and two enlisted soldiers died. People were injured. During the night, small groups of youths tried to set fire to houses and vehicles in various parts of the city.

Under conditions where, according to the correspondent, the local militia is not acting, a serious burden is placed on the soldiers' shoulders. They acted selflessly in extreme conditions, defending law and order. It has been possible, with the assistance of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, to set up workers' patrols. They are now patrolling the streets with the soldiers. Over 150 persons have been detained for violating law and order, and several firearms have been confiscated.

Baku Gorkom Special Plenum

NC2711070888 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 27 Nov 88

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The papers report that an extraordinary plenum of the Baku Gorkom was held on 26 November. The plenum discussed the situation that has arisen in the republic's capital and the tasks of the Baku city party organization in strengthening organizational and mass-political work for stabilizing the situation in the city.

A large group of deputies of the Baku city soviet and representatives of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and economic executives who are not part of the elected organs of the city party organizations took part.

Abdul-Rakhman Khalilovich Vezirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, spoke at the plenum. A report on the work of the plenum is published in newspapers under the title "To Stabilize the Situation in Baku." It is reported that the plenum participants have addressed a letter to the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and the Yerevan Gorkom with an appeal to adopt urgent measures to ensure the safety of people of Azerbaijani nationality residing in Armenia.

Afanasiyev, executive secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Musayev, first secretary of the Baku Gorkom, took part in the plenum.

Baku Commandant Requests Order

LD2711175688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Notice of the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Colonel General Mikhail Aleksandrovich Godunov [name as heard] requests residents of the city of Baku to comply with order and security and not to allow the disruption of public order. Troops of the special district are taking all types of measures to protect the life, honor, and dignity of every Soviet person. Do not follow the intrigues of certain criminals and do not believe rumors. As from 27 November, three times a day—at 0700, 1500, and 2100—reliable information will be provided about the situation in the city. I firmly believe that residents of the traditional [word indistinct] city will understand me. I hope for and firmly believe in the cooperation of working people and intellectuals.

[Signed] Col Gen Godunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

26 November 1988

Baku Commandant Issues Notice

NC2711092688 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0305 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] The following is a notice from the commandant of the special district of Baku city on observing the requirements of curfew conditions:

From 2200 on 26 November to 0500 on 27 November the situation in the special district of Baku city remained complicated. Incidents of threats against people of Armenian nationality have become more frequent. A house on Nefteprompyslovaya Street in the Kirov rayon was set on fire. A considerable number of citizens continue to remain in Valdimir Ilich Lenin Square, and (?some) of them moved around the city without passes. Passport regulations are being violated. For these and other activities, 1,091 people and 140 automobiles have been detained. In all, 25 people have been arrested. (?Two) edged weapons and 5 bottles containing inflammable (?liquids) have been confiscated. Investigations are under way.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the special district of Baku city.

Azerbaijan Party Chiefs Fired

AU2711135788 Paris AFP in English 0842 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 27 (AFP)—Communist Party leaders in the riot-hit areas of Nakhichevan and Kirovabad in the southern republic of Azerbaijan have been sacked, official Azerbaijani sources told AFP Sunday.

The two party leaders, Kirovabad chief Ramiz Bagirli, and Nurradin Mustafayev of Nakhichevan, were fired on Saturday after inter-ethnic clashes between Moslem Azeris and Christian Armenians in the cities last week.

Both cities were placed under curfew last Wednesday [23 November] after riots left three soldiers dead and 126 people injured.

Three soldiers were killed, according to an official toll, after further riots in Kirovabad on Thursday in which Azeris rampaged through the Armenian district of the town, burning houses and torching cars.

According to an Armenian nationalist in Yerevan, Ambartsum Galastyan, two Armenians were killed and three women raped during Thursday's incidents. He reported "many wounded".

'Extreme' Kirovabad Incidents

LD2711122188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1037 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Nov (TASS)—The newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA today tells of the recent events in Kirovabad. Nationalist elements heated up the atmosphere in the city to an extreme degree. A barrier was necessary on the River Gyandzhachay, which separates the districts where Azerbaijanis and Armenians live. A company of soldiers from the internal forces doing service in this Azerbaijani city, who arrived at the bridge, managed to drive back the unruly crowd. The newspaper's correspondent tells of the excesses committed by the nationalists. Extremists threw bottles containing acid and an inflammable mixture. Somebody in the crowd hurled a grenade, fragments of which injured several servicemen. Three of them died, and one is in critical condition.

I. Orudzhev, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, told the correspondoent that behind people throwing cobblestones, are political opponents of restructuring, adventurists, and the ringleaders of the so-called "shadow economy."

It is not difficult for an observant person and an analyst to discern behind the outwardly elemental, unpredictable events a scenario which was put together in advance. A scenario where the authors' true aims are masked by slogans concerning the "infringement of democracy" and the need to "defend restructuring" and concealed in nationalist, religious packaging. Those who are threatened with being unmasked by real restructuring are trying to divert attention from themselves by destabilizing public life and substituting anarchy for legality and law and order.

Republic 'Shall Not' Relinquish NKAO

NC2511091488 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 21 Nov 88 p 7

[M. Ali Birand Report: "We Do Not Give Nagorno-Karabakh Away"]

[Excerpts] Looking at the notes I held in my hand, a middle-aged Azerbaijani, who sat next to me while our flight took off from Moscow, realized that I was Turkish. He asked "What was I going to do in Baku?" When I told him that my visit was related to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], he immediately said: "NKAO is as valuable as our eyes and hearts. Neither the Armenians nor anyone else can take it away from us."

I was surprised by the clear and relaxed way in which he made his point. I heard similar statements from everyone I met after landing in Baku. "The NKAO belonged to our predecessors. We shall not give it away." [passage omtited]

One of the most important and prominent journalists in Azerbaijan, who also has worked in Turkey, gave an interesting account of the general situation. He said: "We had a weak sense of solidarity in the past and minded our own business. The developments have helped to unite us. A national feeling and a state of awareness have emerged in the community for the first time. We had not observed this in the past. I can say that Azerbaijan has changed. It is as if the Armenian attitude has awakened the people and moved them to safeguard their rights." [passage omitted]

The NKAO is an autonomous region under the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan. It makes its own decisions on its local needs and cultural matters. Of the 162,000 people in the NKAO, 123,000 are Armenian and 37,000 are Azerbaijani. The Armenians made up 85 percent of the population in the past, the Azerbaijanis 13 percent. However, the figures have changed in favor of the Azerbaijanis, with their percentage of the population having increased to 23 percent at the present time. [passage omitted]

Report on Yerevan Rallies

NC2511145988 Yerevan ARMENPRESS International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Nov (ARMENPRESS)—Yerevan's Opera Square is full. The air resounds with speeches which lash out at our most unfortunate problems. They speak about the trial of the Sumgait crimes and demand that a final political solution be found to what has taken place. They express the people's just and understandable concern over the latest incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh and over what obstacles the Azerbaijan SSR leaders are placing before the social-economic-cultural development of that region, which has been foreseen in the famous decisions by the party and the government. These are the topics about which many speak, but not all of them. In certain cases a great outburst of emotion can be heard, as can certain [word indistinct] demands.

More and more people come toward the square. The city's militia carefully monitor law and order, and the police skillfully ensure the safety of the pedestrians.

What has brought you here? What problems and issues disturb you? How do you assess the situation in our republic and (?outside)? These are the questions that we ask the various participants and elderly people.

"Here at Opera Square I am trying to gain some information which, unfortunately, you cannot find either in the central or in the republican press," says Vigen Chaltikyan, scientific researcher at the Armenian Physics Institute. "Many unsolved issues have accumulated. We want to find out from truthful sources what has actually happened in Nagorno-Karabakh. Is it true that the Azerbaijan side is not allowing convoys of trucks loaded with construction materials to enter Stepanakert? If yes, then what is the reason for this?

"We want to know what measures are being taken by the republic's establishments. We want to know what the stand of the USSR Government is. The USSR Government has adopted a good decision concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, but this decision is not being implemented satisfactorily. We agree that under the present conditions, when the people's interest in what is happening in the country is so high at this time of reconstruction, it is very important to speak the truth. This can help to consolidate the positions of perestroyka and weaken [word indistinct]. I support truth, but please tell me what the truth is so that I do not have to sometimes look for it in dubious sources."

"Transportation is not operating. Several production units, scientific establishments, high schools, and VUZ collectives are also not operating. What is your opinion on the strikes?"

"I read with great interest all the reports that are published in Armenian newspapers and magazines. These reports have become more daring, and the (?authors) have started to publish their names," says Vladimir Badalyan, head of the Arpa and Sevan construction [word indistinct]. "That is very good. It seems that the press has become more frank, more (?open) with us, but not entirely. Tell me frankly: Why do the governments still not want to admit that the tragedies against the Armenians in Sumgait were premeditated? My knowledge of legal matters is not very good, but I understand that a planned operation took place. And what does the condemnation of two ruffians who were used as blind tools to achieve someone's evil intentions mean? In Italy, when the trial of the representatives of world crime was going on, they (?questioned) hundreds of people who may not have known each other but who were united in a criminal union. Until now they have been trying to convince us that only singular cases of disorder have taken place in Sumgait.

"Let both the press and the republic's leadership be frank with us. For the time being, I believe the people. That is why I follow the people."

The same opinion is expressed by Arshik and Ogannes Arutyunyan, employees of the construction committee. The people do not understand why the just demands of an Armenian oblast to join its people and its government should meet with such a hard stand by other people.

We approached one group after the other, asking them to discuss the incidents. The people spoke about various issues and on why the people's faith in justice has been harmed. This is an outcome of bribery and bureaucracy and of the ecological situation in Yerevan, which threatens health because of the high density of dozens of dangerous substances in the air.

Dzh. Balagyozyan and L. Azroyan, special ARMENPRES correspondents

TV Reports on Yerevan Situation

LD2511200588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1842 GMT 25 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our special correspondent reports from Yerevan: [correspondents Ye. Nikonov, A. Rudakov, and M. Nersesyan identified by screen caption] It was warm and sunny in Yerevan today. People hurried along the streets about their own business and made their usual, everyday purchases. Cafes and service enterprises were operating. [video shows wide avenue in city center with thin traffic; passersby on street, some with children, some carrying parcels]

Nevertheless, tension is still felt. Today's issues of the republic's newspapers publish the appeal by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR to the working people of the republic. It states that the situation has become more acute and calls for maximum responsibility, wisdom, calm, and good sense to prevail. [video shows helicopter flying overhead; young couple buying newspaper at kiosk; still shot of front pages of KOMMUNIST showing the appeal at the top of the page]

Measures are being taken to cut short possible violations of law and order and to protect citizens' honor and dignity. A curfew has been introduced in the city as of today. Strikes and the holding of unsanctioned gatherings and meetings are forbidden. [video shows distant shot of tank standing at crossroads with men in military uniform nearby, with a number of them wearing steel helmets and holding rifles]

This is what Yerevan's Theater Square looks like today, where meetings involving many thousands of people were taking place until yesterday. It must be said that despite the outward calm the situation in the republic is complicated. Conflicting rumors which even further whip up the atmosphere continue and spread. For that very reason explanatory work is now being carried out everywhere, and conjecture is being refuted. In a word, everything is being done to restore the normal rhythm of life and work. [video shows a corner of the square where three armored personnel carriers can be seen parked with groups of soldiers standing nearby]

Yerevan 'Remains Tense'

PM2511175488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan, M. Krushinskiy, and A. Protsenko report: "Complex Situation"]

[Text] Yerevan—The situation in Yerevan remains tense: Many industrial enterprises and educational establishments are not working, and public transport is at a standstill.

A curfew was imposed in the republican capital from 0000 hours on 25 November.

The local newspapers published an appeal from the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers to the working people of Soviet Armenia. "It is now the duty of every one of us to the country and to his own people," the appeal says, "to demonstrate the maximum responsibility and wisdom and to recognize that any actions aimed at disrupting the normal rhythm of life and work or any words or deeds that promote the destabilization of the situation in the republic are contrary to our people's national interests."

According to reports received by the Armenian MVD, there has been no increase in infringements of the law in Yerevan since the curfew was imposed.

Yerevan Streets 'Calm'

PM2611181288 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan, M. Krushinskiy, and A. Protsenko report: "Yerevan, 26 November"]

[Text] For the 2d day, armored personnel carriers stand at the intersections of the main streets and in the squares of the Armenian capital.

The situation in the streets of Yerevan remains calm.

A curfew was imposed in Yerevan from 0000 on 25 November. By order of Lieutenant General V. Samsonov, military commandant of the city, certain special measures have been imposed governing the inhabitants' life and activity and the work of institutions, enterprises, and public institutions.

The republican newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN published resolutions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium explaining the situation arising from the suspension the other day of the work of a session of the republic supreme soviet, which was due to the exacerbation of the situation in the region.

Yet after the deputies had left the hall of sessions, rallies were held in Yerevan and other cities of the republic at which demands for the session to be completed without delay were made. On 24 November some of the deputies assembled in the opera theater building and examined the questions remaining on the agenda. These concerned amendments to the USSR Constitution, the fulfillment of the directive organs' decision on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and certain other problems of the republic's life.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium declared the session in the opera theater to be unlawful, because it was held in violation of procedures laid down by the Armenian SSR Constitution. A decision was adopted to resume the session's work after the normalizaiton of the situation.

From Saturday morning, buses, streetcars, and trolleybuses began to appear in the streets of Yerevan again, though they are still rare. The subway is operating.

Protests Hit Armenian Extremists

LD2511184488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Excerpt] For the 2d week running, working people of Baku, war and labor veterans, students, pupils, gray-haired mothers, and benevolent-looking elders are gathering on the square of the capital as a sign of protest against events that have taken place in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, events completely contrary to the Leninist nationality policy of our party and government and our sacred laws, and which very crudely violate the sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR and are aimed at defaming our national dignity. At the crowded meeting staged here, the people express their just opinions, put forward their legal demands, and condemn Armenian extremists and dashnaks [national Armenians who fought against the Bolsheviks during the revolution]. The unanimous opinion of the people is that traitorous elements who are spreading the seeds of hostility among nationalities immediately be forced to accept responsibility and receive the punishment they deserve. [passage omitted]

Sumgait Death Sentence

LD2511181388 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] The month-long trial of Ahmedov, one of the criminals of the Sumgait events [in February 1988], has concluded.

Citing evidence in his summation, and backing it up with the testimony given in court by the defendant, the victims and their survivors, and witnesses who testified that Ahmedov had plotted crimes and murders, the state prosecutor asked that he be given the maximum sentence: death by firing squad.

In his final statement, defendant denied the charges made against him.

The members of the USSR Supreme Court, headed by Raymond Brize, conferred for over a day. On 18 November at the evening session of the court, the sentence was handed down: death.

Further Reportage on Lithuanian Situation

Vilnius Reports on Mass Rally

LD2711010088 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] We start with a special report on the mass rally held in Vilnius today.

Today at noon, Gediminas Square, the very heart of Vilnius, was flooded by Vilniusites and people from other Lithuanian cities who gathered together to see off the delegates to the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, due to be held soon in Moscow. A nearly 5,000-strong crowd carrying the Lithuanian national yellow-, green-, and red-striped flags with black bands attached to them expressed their disapproval of the decisions made recently at the session of the Lithuanian parliament. Besides, the protesters carried banners saying: We are for democratic constitution; dear parliamentarians come back with a shield but not on a shield; the Lithuanian nation needs loyal leaders. Old and young could be seen in Gediminas Square today, and all of them were greatly concerned about the forthcoming session when draft amendments to the Soviet Constitution will be discussed.

This mass rally was organized and conducted by the Seimas Council of the Lithuanian reform movement Sayudis. Algis Kospedas, who is a member of the Seimas Council, when opening the rally said that he was very pleased to see Lithuanian parliamentarians and the Lithuanian reform movement Sayudis together again consulting each other before [word indistinct] an important examination in Moscow. Academician Burachas read the mandate, which had been given to the delegates by the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. In the mandate Lithuanian scientists voiced their ideas concerning the republic's sovereignty. Besides, it was stressed that the relations between each republic and the union should be necessarily based on contacts, as well as the Lithuanian Constitution on the republic's territory should be given priority over the Constitution of the USSR. The speaker also pointed out that these commitments should be strictly observed by the deputies when in Moscow.

Later, (?Algis Kospedas) said that the Lithuanian reform movement would continue its struggle for Lithuania's sovereignty. He also appealed to the Lithuanian public to unite in this work. Besides, he announced that Vidas Aslandbirgis had been elected chairman of the Seimas Council. Vidas Aslandbirgis addressed the rally:

[Begin Aslandbirgis recording in Lithuanian, fading into superimposed English translation] If within the republic's leadership the upper hand was taken by forces tolerating no criticism whatsoever, if attempts were made to prejudice people's opinions, to suppress the Sayudis, to shut it up, even to ban or abolish the movement, we would make a big step backwards as a republic and society. Such a step is almost inconceivable. Lithuania has grown spiritually, and this process is commended by all here in this square, in the Sayudis, and in the republic's leadership as well. I am therefore convinced that the spirit of cooperation will win over. We can already say without hesitation that we are a recovering society. Let us discuss our Constitution, our future life, and let us necessarily send letters to the Supreme Soviet, the Sayudis, and the Seimas so that political life does not subside. [end recording]

[Announcer] Besides, Vidas Aslandbirgis, when addressing the rally, pointed out that the Lithuanian public had got acquainted already with the statements where the commitments of the parliamentarians were outlined.

Deputies who represent Lithuania at the Supreme Soviet of the USSR pledged to vote only for the laws concerning the election of supreme governmental bodies and people's deputies of the USSR, thus expressing the will of their electors and supporting the resolutions recently passed by the Lithuanian parliament. The commitment of the members of parliament were confirmed by Vladislovas Mikuciauskas, a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Lithuania's foreign minister.

[Begin Mikuciauskas recording in Lithuanian, fading into superimposed English translation] I think I shall not be wrong to say that the forthcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be very difficult for our deputies. With the help of the central mass media, public opinion is being shaped to the effect that draft laws published allegedly reflect the interests of all the republics, of all the people of this country. As a deputy and as a man I cannot support those draft laws and their separate articles since a whole number of them runs counter to the spirit of the resolutions passed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. They are practically aimed at still further centralization, still greater infringement upon the republic's sovereignty. This view is shared by most of our people and by all those gathered here in Gediminas Square. I personally shall not vote for such a draft law as the one published in the press. [end recording]

[Announcer] Among other speakers at the rally was the representative of the Lithuanian clergy, Alulis, who expressed his joy over the rehabilitation of political prisoners in Lithuania. Besides, he pointed out that favorable changes in our society can be expected only if the Lithuanian Government and the Lithuanian reform movement unite their efforts. The rally was closed by Vidas Aslandbirgis, chairman of the Seimas Council.

Today in the afternoon one more mass rally was held in the Gediminas Square, where representatives of the Lithuanian Liberation League expressed their ideas as to the forthcoming session in Moscow. They said that the ceremony of the seeing off of the delegates was not the real thing because these delegates had not been elected but appointed from above.

Rally Stresses Sovereignty

LD2611175488 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Vilnius November 26 TASS—Today a rally in connection with a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet to open next Tuesday was staged on a central square of the capital of Soviet Lithuania. Several deputies took part in the rally sponsored by the Lithuanian public movement Sayudis.

The Sayudis leaders detecting an "infringement of sovereignty" of union republics in draft changes of the USSR Constitution and the bill on elections of people's deputies, which will be tabled at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, insisted on withdrawing these documents from the debate. This position was not supported by the majority of deputies to the Lithuanian parliament.

However, at today's rally the Sayudis leaders again repeated the thesis on a "threat to sovereignty".

Republican newspapers in their today's issues carried a statement by a group of Lithuanian deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, which said that they would vote for that part of articles which deal with elections of people's deputies and formation of supreme organs of state authority. The authors of the statement found it expedient to hand over all other questions pertaining to amendments to the USSR Constituion for the consideration of new organs of state authority which would be elected next year.

Party Chief Defends Republic

LD2611015688 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] At the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, First Party Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas has met higher school lecturers and [words indistinct] Young Communist League organizations.

Algirdas Brazauskas surveyed the current situation in the republic and spoke about the 10th session of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet. He pointed out that the session's proceedings had been very democratic and its decisions were (?virtually) in compliance with the will and wishes of the electors and the Lithuanian nation at large.

At present it's necessary to make use of the existing opportunities in order to press for the republic's greater sovereignty, and here joint efforts and unity of all are needed.

The heads of high schools who spoke during the meeting acknowledged that academic discipline had been faulty of late. This, by the way, can be said of some of the lecturers, too.

The participants in the meeting expressed the wish for more frequent contacts and frank talks with the republic's leaders.

Presidium on Extraordinary Session

LD2611014288 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] The Presidium of the republic's supreme soviet today released information on the letters and telegrams it had received [words indistinct] while adopting the resolution on Lithuania's Constitution during the 10th session of the Supreme Soviet. The voting procedure was violated; thus an extraordinary session should be convened.

During [words indistinct] debate of the Supreme Soviet some 30 deputies are in favor of this proposal while the majority of MP's do not support it.

In compliance with Article 100 of the Lithuanian Constitution there is, therefore, no ground to convene an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet, says the information released by the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Veterans Criticize Sajudis Leaders

LD2611015088 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] These days several statements issued by public organizations in connection with the tense political situation in Lithuania have been made public.

Today's press carries a rather outspoken statement by the National Council of War and Labor Veterans. It supports the decisions of the Supreme Soviet session, the statement made by the Lithuanian Government, and the contentions and proposals voiced by First Party Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas in his televised address to the population.

At the same time, the National Council of War and Labor Veterans has outspokenly condemned the anti-constitutional and antidemocratic attacks of what it calls irresponsible people and some Sayudis leaders against the MP's and the republic's government leaders.

We appeal to the Sayudis leaders, the statement runs, to apologize in public for those ignoble actions and to dissociate from the extremist elements and their activity.

Russian Cultural Movement Formed

LD2511213088 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—A new public movement, the Russian Cultural Centre, has recently been formed in Lithuania, a Soviet Baltic republic, on the initiative of the Russian Drama Theatre in Vilnius jointly with the section of young Russian writers of the Union of Writers of Lithuania.

This has been reported by the newspaper IZVESTIYA today. It writes that the aim of the Russian Cultural Centre is to revive cultural traditions of the Russian population, residing in Lithuania since the times of the great Lithuanian principality. The Russian Cultural Centre appeared not as an alternative to the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, but as its new, absolutely independent, facet. It is also not casual that the Russian Cultural Centre declared support for the good undertakings of the movement for perestroyka.

It is to be hoped that cooperation of the new movement with societies of culture of national minorities in Lithuania will help remove the heat of inter-ethnic problems that have emerged in the recent time.

Further Reportage on Situation in Latvia SSR

Fronts' Activities Detailed

LD2611162288 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Riga, November 26 TASS—The leaders of the two political movements of Latvia's public—the Popular Front and the International Front—chose this Saturday [26 November] for holding their actions.

The Popular Front, which has a membership of more than 100,000, held a political demonstration on a Riga quay waving red and white national flags. Daynis Ivans, leader of the Popular Front, and other activists of the movement, addressed the gathering from the podium. Dissatisfaction rang out with decisions of the recent session of Latvia's Supreme Soviet, which did not support some of the documents, on whose adoption the leadership of the Popular Front insisted.

Members of the International Front demonstrated their growing political activeness in another way. About five thousand people worked today at major construction sites of the Latvian capital, primarily at cleaning complexes.

The International Front is still at the stage of being formed. In contrast to the Popular Front which unites mainly ethnic Latvians, the International Front is a broader-based organisation: It unites Russians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and Jews. For the Republic where approximately half of the population are not ethnic Latvians, the emergence of the International Movement is quite understandable.

Tentative figures put its supporters at some 300,000 people. An International Front leader said in a television interview that this "organisation began to be formed largely in response to the anti-internationalist character of many speeches that rang out at the founding congress of the Popular Front".

Given all the difference in these actions, both of them passed under the slogans of perestroyka and in support of it.

26 Nov Demonstration Reported

LD2711165888 Riga in Swedish to Europe 2020 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Excerpt] There were demonstrations in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania at noon today due to the proposed changes in the Soviet Union's Constitution and election system. The demonstrations were arranged prior to the delegates' departure to the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow. In Latvia the demonstrations were arranged at the request of the Popular Front of Latvia. Demonstrations took place in many towns, but the biggest one was in Riga where about 10,000 people gathered on the banks of the Daugava at Riga Castle. The red, white, and red flags were flying, and it was possible to read many appeals. These included: United front against stagnation; Toward a constitutionally governed state; 900,000 signatures against [as heard] changes in the Constitution; The wakening of the people; Vote for the proposal of the Latvian Supreme Soviet to change the Constitution.

This demonstration and this meeting had been planned as the last opportunity to let the delegates from Latvia to the Supreme Soviet know the peoples' hopes before they travel to Moscow tomorrow. Activists from the Popular Front and (Dzhemma Skulme), member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, spoke at the meeting. [passage omitted]

Georgian Supreme Soviet Demands Amendments

PM2511191688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[G. Ediberidze report under general heading "Sessions of Union Republic Supreme Soviets": "Georgian SSR"]

[Excerpts] Constructive dialogue and the frank exchange of opinions characterized the work of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet session held 23 November, at which the republic's State Plan for Economic and Social Development and budget for 1989 were examined. The in-depth, comprehensive nature of the discussion was promoted by the fact that it was attended, along with the deputies, by people interested in matters on the session agenda who had responded to an invitation published in the press to attend the sittings. Both those who were in the auditorium and those who were watching a live broadcast transmitted on Georgian television's Channel One were able to share their thoughts and put forward observations and proposals. [passage omitted]

The deputies examined the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft USSR Laws on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR in the republic.

In unanimously supporting the policy of democratization and glasnost and the party's course of radical reform of the political system, the deputies stressed that the success of the current changes depends largely on the consolidation of all society's healthy forces, the strengthening of the peoples' friendship, and the improvement of ethnic relations in the republic. It was said that the creation of a rule-of-law state is a long process which cannot be hurried and which requires the careful consideration of the interests of all the union republics in the united family of the USSR's peoples. There was serious criticism of those provisions of the draft laws that, in the deputies' opinion, are not in accordance with the spirit of the 19th All-Union Party Conference decisions and the tasks of restructuring.

On a proposal from the deputies, the session unanimously resolved to inform the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet deems it necessary to incorporate in the said draft laws the amendments demanded by the Georgian public and to speed up the drafting of a new version of the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law).

D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech at the session.

Hunger Strikers Protest Drafts

NC2611084788 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 0537 GMT 26 Nov 88

[From the review of ZARYA VOSTOKA and MOLODEZH GRUZII]

[Text] The youth paper [MOLODEZH GRUZII] today publishes a decree from the 10th session of the 11th convocation of the Georgian Supreme Soviet. It emphasizes that the session regarded as nonexpedient [netselesoobraznyam] the examinination of the draft laws on amendments and supplements to the Basic Law of the USSR Constitution and on the election of people's deputies of the USSR in the form in which these were submitted to it. The supreme soviet considers it imperative to include certain corrections demanded by Georgian public opinion in these drafts.

A large segment of the republic's population has greeted this decree with approval. A group of young people, as well as a number of informal associations, were not satisfied with only this decree. Adopting a negative stand on the submitted drafts, they expressed themselves by proclaiming a hunger strike in front of the government house in Tbilisi. For 5 days now they have been voicing their demands, saying primarily that the submitted drafts are inconsistent with the process of democratization now under way, that these violate the sovereign rights of republics, and that these run counter to the principles of voluntary union among free peoples.

Therefore, the draft for amendments and supplements to the Constitution of the country is unacceptable in this form. They believe that a new constitution for the Georgian SSR should be created and that the USSR Constitution should be drafted on the basis of the constitutions of the union republics.

Rumors have been spread that this group of young people is calling for strife between nationalities. These provocative rumors, as they pointed out in talks with journalists and representatives of society, are a complete lie, and those who believe them deserve (?pity). The Georgian people have always displayed friendliness in their relations with people of any nationality or faith residing in Georgian territory, and it is impermissible for these traditions to be violated.

'Mass Demonstration' in Tbilisi

AU2711170888 Paris AFP in English 1647 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 27 (AFP)—Georgian nationalists on Sunday staged a fresh mass demonstration in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi to protest planned changes to the Soviet Constitution, while the number of hunger strikers rose to 700, unofficial Georgian sources told AFP.

A member of a non-official political movement, Zurab Chavchavadze, said Sunday's demonstration blocked the centre of the city for several hours. The wife of Georgian dissident Zviad Gamsakhurdia estimated the crowd at some 25,000 people.

The Georgian sources said that the number of hunger-strikers protesting Moscow's proposed constitutional amendments outside the government building had risen from 100 last week to 700.

Mr. Chavchavadze said that 52 had been taken to hospital. The report could not be immediately confirmed officially.

The hunger strikers are to continue their action until Tuesday, when the Supreme Soviet in Moscow is to adopt the constitutional amendments, which critics fear will erode the autonomy of the 15 republics.

The Georgian parliament on Wednesday decided that the proposed amendments should be revised, but failed to vote itself a right of veto over Moscow's laws as the Estonian parliament had done on November 16.

Up to 200,000 people demonstrated outside the Georgian parliament during the debate.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Saturday nullified the Estonian decision.

Scientific

Reportage on Joint Soviet-French Space Flight

Experts Comment on Plans

LD2511233688 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Baykonur November 25 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov:

Science analysts from news agencies and television networks, and from aerospace magazines in France, the United States, Britain and other countries, who arrived to attend the blast-off of the Soviet-French manned space expedition met members of the state commission coordinating work under this programme.

The last pre-launch operations are proceeding and according to schedule, Kerim Kerimov, chairman of the commission, said. The craft's vertical tests passed without a hitch. The health of the members of both crews, one of which will be named the first this afternoon, is good. Nothing now stands in the way of a November 26 launch.

This is the 15th international space flight but the first to go beyond a week in duration. Does this mean that the Mir orbital complex can become a base for international inter-planetary missions, asked journalists from Britain.

It would be good to realize this project in the next few years irrespective of whether it takes place aboard the Mir station or an European orbital station, Kerimov answered. An expedition to Mars is too complex an undertaking for a single state, he stressed. The six-man Soviet and French team will be in orbit for about a month and can actually be regarded as the first international team in the history of practical preparations for a manned expedition to Mars.

Two members of the Soviet-French crew—the commander and flight engineer—are planned to replace the commander and flight engineer of Mir station, who will return to earth with the French cosmonaut after spending 365 days in space. Alain Raimond, a France Presse correspondent, asked if there were plans to extend the period of cosmonauts' work in orbit.

Doctor Gennadiy Sergeyev, deputy health minister of the USSR who participates in the work of the state commission, answered that Mir's next resident crew would stay in orbit for half a year. This term, he said, is linked with the specific features of the new programme and does not mean that our programme of medical support for long-duration flights has been stopped.

We take into account the results of all long-term flights as we develop our methods, Sergeyev said. This is only natural since the state has already spent huge sums proving the possibility of man's safe work in space for a year. This work of Soviet medical men and cosmonauts is the first real contribution to preparing an international mission to Mars.

Launch Preparations Noted

LD2611120988 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0700 GMT on 26 November carries a 3-minute report by special correspondent Leonid Lazeravich on preparations at the Baykonur cosmodrome for the 26 November Soyuz launch.

Lazarevich begins by reporting "The launch of the Soyuz-TM-7 spacecraft manned by a Soviet-French crew will take place at 1849 Moscow time [1549 GMT]. This is 1 minute earlier than planned. (?The change is due to a change in the orbit of the Mir station.)"

Lazarevich talks to (?Sergey) Kirillovich Tarasov, chief physician at the Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center, on the cosmonauts' prelaunch activities. Tarasov says:

"The launch day began today somewhat later than usual and the cosmonauts woke up a little later. Immediately after sleeping the cosmonauts were turned over to the doctors who began their medical tests. They started with a microbiological examination and then a cycle of hygienic preparation. After breakfast the cosmonauts were checked over by specialists who noted their good state of health, their good psychological state, and the good relations among the crew. The doctors have no misgivings regarding their state of health. The cosmonauts are healthy and ready for the space flight, and after a brief period of preparatory operations, the cosmonauts will get in the bus and be sent off to the launch position to get into their spacesuits and conduct preparatory measures at the pre-launch complex."

Lazarevich asked Tarasov whether the cosmonauts slept well and about their breakfast. They slept well, according to Tarasov. Yesterday evening they watched a traditional film "White Sun in the Desert" and were given a relaxing massage before bed. This morning they ate with a good appetite; they were joking and in a good frame of mind.

Lazarevich concludes by noting that final preparations are underway at the launch complex.

TASS Reports Lift Off

LD2611170788 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—TASS special correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov reports from the flight control centre:

The Soyuz TM-7 spacecraft with a Soviet-French crew on board separated from the booster rocket at 6.58 p.m. today and entered a near-earth orbit with a maximum height of 240 kilometres.

The Flight Control Centre (FCC) near Moscow began directly guiding the spacecraft.

Before the Soyuz TM-7 was placed in orbit, the FCC only monitored the operation of the onboard systems telemetrically, watched the crew on television and listened to their radio exchanges with the firing room team.

The booster's flight to orbit is being shown on a huge screen.

After the spaceship and the rocket separated, the FCC telemetrically checked if the antennae and solar batteries had opened, established communication with the crew and began checking the onboard systems.

As the craft enters the radio visibility zones of tracking stations on Soviet territory (the zones are depicted as circles on the screen), the ship begins receiving commands from the stations and sending back data, then retransmitted to the FCC, about the operation of the onboard systems, the orbital flight trajectory and also television images from the craft.

Telemetric and trajectory data, instantly processed by computers, appears on the FCC room displays.

Specialists at the FCC thoroughly analyze the data and make conclusions about the condition of each of the onboard systems.

In case of a deviation from normal regimens, the operator in charge of a comprehensive analysis of the data comes up with recommendations to repair the malfunctions and reports to the shift commander of the mission.

The flight control main operational group, numbering several hundred, works four shifts.

Moscow TV Broadcasts Launch

LD2611180788 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian in its first and second programs at 1515 GMT on 26 November carries a 'live' report from the Baykonur cosmodrome of the launch of the Soyuz TM-7, which is manned by a Soviet-French crew.

The report begins with shots in the mission control center, and then shows the rocket on the launching pad. The commentator describes the rocket features, using a model.

At 1521 the video shows French cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien on board the spacecraft, then black and white shots of the crewmembers are shown.

At 1523, Aleksandr Volkov greets the viewers and reports that the crew is ready for the launch. Chretien then says how proud he is to be taking part in the joint flight for a second time. He thanks those people in both countries who have made the flight possible.

At 1528 commentatory P. Orlov, in the mission control center, recalls recent space projects. Video shows Chretien onboard the spacecraft, expressing his gratitude to President Mitterrand. He continues with expressions of confidence in the crew.

At 1537 the video shows a distant shot of the spectators' platform; none of the personalities are identifiable. For the next 5 minutes there are clips of earlier meetings with journalist and cosmonauts' recorded conversations concerning the flight.

At 1542, Mitterrand is shown speaking with the cosmonauts, as is Shevardnadze. Their conversations are not heard. Shevardnadze and Mitterrand are then shown on the viewing platform, awaiting the launch.

At 1550 a burst of flame appears beneath the rocket and the spacecraft rises into the sky. Video then briefly shows Mitterrand and Shevardnadze watching.

At 1553 a background voice is heard to say, "240 seconds. Flight proceeding normally." An update at 270 seconds says the same. At 310 seconds into the flight the voice says the flight is "stable."

At 1555 commentator Orlov shows a model of the spacecrafts' antenna apparatus and points to a panel that records microparticles which will strike the craft during its flight.

At 1558 the camera shows the crew aboard the craft. At that moment the crew seems to make a sudden movement as if disturbed by something and then the video returns to a correspondent at mission control who says the flight is going well. The spacecraft is now in orbit.

Correspondent Slipchenko ends the live report.

Flight Experiments Listed

LD2511130988 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

The effect of spatial environment on various materials and coatings, intended for use in open space, will be studied during the "samples" experiment included in the programme of the 26-day Soviet-French Expedition on the orbital station "Mir".

During this international flight it is planned to carry out a set of investigations for different branches of French economy. The start of the international crew is scheduled for November 26 from the Soviet "Baykonur" cosmodrome.

The "samples" experimental equipment is to be mounted on "Mir's" external during the French cosmonaut's exit into open space.

The studies will be carried out both during the flight and back on the ground. The samples will be removed from the station's outside wall by Soviet cosmonauts half a year later.

The Complex "samples" study will include five experiments. The first, called "Komes," provides for an insight into the "behaviour" of exposed materials in open space, the second, named "Mapol," will deal with the behaviour of polymers in spatial media. The "DIS" and "DMS" experiments are intended to investigate the nature of spatial dust distribution. The "MKAL" experiment will measure the absorption and radiation capacity of white paint, depending on the time of its exposure in open space.

Joint Research Program Described

LD2611180788 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov.

A spacewalk involving Aleksandr Volkov and Jean-Loup Chretien will be one of the highlights of the Soviet-French expedition which left for the orbiting platform Mir today.

Along with time in the airlock and a brief rest, the extravehicular activity is to total six hours, while work itself will take a net two hours and 35 minutes.

Over this time the cosmonauts will have to deploy and test a six-meter modular structure which in future can serve as a platform for various aerials or large-size constructions.

Made of carbon plastic tubes, it looks like a bundle of brushwood when collapsed and like a prism-shaped hexahedron about one meter high when unfolded.

The structure will be tested for resistance to vibration during an experiment.

Volkov and Chretien will also attach samples of new materials to the Mir outer wall. These will be left there for six months, exposed to space radiation, high vacuum and sharp temperature fluctuations, as a trial.

The mission's research program includes a large number of medico-biological experiments following up on those undertaken during the first Soviet-French space flight in 1982.

An upgraded echograph developed by French scientists will be used, for example, to study the speed and nature of the blood flow in blood-vessels, with the image of the heart and the circulatory system flashed directly on a VCR screen.

Data obtained in this way will help design new means to prevent the adverse impact of weightlessness on the human organism.

All in all, nine series of experiments, expected to take up 160 hours, are to be performed during what will be the longest international space expedition ever.

Chretien will return to Earth on Dec. 21 together with Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, who will have spent exactly a year in space by that time.

Volkov and Sergey Krikalev as well as physician Valeriy Polyakov, who has stayed on Mir since late last August, will continue working on the orbiting platform until the end of next April.

Correspondent on 'Hermes' Venture

LD2611181888 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

The current Soviet-French space flight will help resolve some problems with training crews for the projected European Hermes spaceship, according to French Cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien.

Chretien, who is currently in orbit along with Soviet colleagues Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev after blasting off on the Soyuz TM-7 today, has made the admission before leaving for Baykonur cosmodrome.

France's National Center for Space Studies (CNES) and the Soviet space agency Glavkosmos have already begun working on a program for making Hermes compatible with Soviet orbiting platforms.

The program of the Soviet-French flight, which will last until Dec. 21, features nine series of experiments which will take a total of 160 hours.

The cosmonauts will continue medico-biological experiments started in 1982 by the first Soviet-French space crew, which Included Jean-Loup Chretien, on the orbiting station Salyut-7.

The French cosmonaut and a Soviet colleague will also make a spacewalk.

Twenty-two years ago France beacme the first West European country to sign an agreement with the Soviet Union on cooperation in space studies. Some 50 joint projects have been realized since then.

The first ones included, for example, observations of clouds from Soviet satellites and French instrumented balloons, a number of experiments in the course of the Soviet lunar exploration program, and the launching of the French MAS satellite.

France together with other countries took an active part in devising scientific equipment for the Soviet VEHA space probes which explored Venus and Halley's Comet in 1985 and 1986. That mission has produced the first data about the composition and properties of substances making up comets.

France has been among the more active participants in the international Phobos project in which two Soviet probes lifted off last July to fly to the Martian moon Phobos. Last September radio contact with one of the probes was lost but the other one, Phobos-2, is continuing on course and should reach its destination next April or May.

French experts have developed the 'gun' which will be used to bombard the surface of the Martian moon with a view to determining its chemical makeup, and infra-red spectrometer to study the thermal physical and reflecting properties of the surfaces of Mars and Phobos, and a number of other instruments and systems.

Two major joint projects in exoatmospheric astronomy are planned for next year, under which the space observatories Gamma-1 and Granat will be launched to study gamma and x-ray emissions from remote celestial bodies in the universe.

Two space vehicles will be launched in 1991 under the international interbol project to study solar activity and the characteristics of near-earth plasma. French experts are involved in efforts to design research instruments for them.

Another joint project is the space observatory Spectrum-X-Ray-Gamma to be delivered to orbit in early 1993.

France will participate also in preparing a Soviet Martian expedition in 1994, during which the red planet will be studied by an unmanned orbiter and instrumented balloons as well as by a Martian rover.

Orbit Continues According to Plan

LD2711110688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] The cosmonauts in the Soviet-French crew are contining their flight on the "Soyuz TM-7." After two maneuvers carried out toward yesterday evening and during the night, the spaceship changed to a higher orbit. According to the fligh schedule, the international crew's working day will start at 1200 Moscow time.

On board the "Mir" orbital complex today is a day off. The cosmonauts are preparing to meet their guests. According to reports from orbit and to telemetric data the flight of the "Soyuz TM-7" spaceship and the "Mir" scientific research complex is proceeding according to the agenda outlined. Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov, Valeriy Polyakov, Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Jean-Loup Chretien are feeling fine.

Docking Set for 28 Nov

LD2711141888 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centres:

The space flight of the Soyuz TM-7 spacecraft manned by Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and the French cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien is going on.

In accordance with a flight program, the crew checked the functioning of the on-board systems and the equipment of the spacecraft, as well as the air-tightness of its compartments. They carried out manoeuvres of a distant rendezvous with the Mir research complex.

Follow the present parametres of the orbit of the soytuz TM-7 spacecraft:

—Maximum distance from the Earth's surface—305 km,

—Minimal distance from the Earth's surface—253 km,

—Period of revolution—89.9 minutes,

—inclination—51.6 degrees.

The working day of the international crew started at 12:00, Moscow time, today. After having breakfast and checking separate systems of the spacecraft the cosmonauts started preparations for the second manoeuver.

Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov continue their flight on board the Mir orbital complex. They are having a day off today.

The docking of the manned spacecraft is scheduled for 20:30 [1730 GMT] November 28.

Docking Procedure Outlined

LD2611174188 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

The Soviet spaceship Soyuz TM-7, which blasted off today with a crew consisting of Commander Aleksandr Volkov, Flight Engineer Sergey Krikalev and French researcher Cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien, is to dock with the orbiting platform Mir (peace) on the evening of Nov. 28.

The two-day approach and linkup plan has been tested well by previous missions under the Soviet space program.

After lifting off from Baykonur cosmodrome Soyuz TM-7 will reach an intermediary orbit on the same plane as Mir.

During the first three circles around Earth checks will be run on the spaceship's various systems and it will also be tested for airtightness, after which the cosmonauts will take off the spacesuits needed for the boost phase of the journey.

During its first maneuver in the course of the 4th and 5th circuits Soyuz TM-7 will move to a higher orbit. Coasting along it, the spaceship will catch up with the station.

The cosmonauts will go to sleep between the 7th and the 11th circuits.

The second, approach maneuver will be executed during the 17th and 18th revolutions around the planet and the crew will begin preparing for docking with Mir.

The third maneuver, to bring the spaceship sufficiently close to the station for the automatic systems to take over approach procedures, will be carried out on the 33rd circuit.

During approach, Soyuz TM's automatically fly by Mir at a distance of 150 to 400 meters.

After the flyby and checks on the onboard systems of the spaceship and the orbiting platform, the Soyuz TM-7 crew will switch on an automatic docking system with a go-ahead from ground control.

The linkup will take place on the 34th circuit in a zone where tracking stations on Soviet territory will ensure radio contact with the cosmonauts.

The approach and docking procedures will be controlled both by the crew and by ground control outside Moscow.

After checking if the docking port is airtight, the new arrivals will enter Mir to join Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, who have been working there since last December, and physician Valeriy Polyakov, who has remained there following the Soviet-Afghan mission in the end of last August and the beginning of September.

Titov and Manarov are to return to Earth with Chretien after exactly one year in space.

Volkov, Krikalev and Polyakov will remain on Mir until the end of next April when they will be relieved by another crew.

Cosmonauts' Biographies Outlined

LD2611173488 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

As French President Francois Mitterrand looked on, the Soyuz TM-7 spaceship carrying a Soviet-French crew blasted off from Baykonur cosmodrome today on the way to the orbiting platform Mir (peace).

During their 26-day flight they are to perform nine series of technological and medico-biological experiments aboard Mir, which has been in orbit since February 1986.

The crew includes spaceship Commander Aleksandr Volkov, flight engineer Sergey Krikalev and French researcher Cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien.

Colonel Volkov, 40, was born in the Ukrainian city of Gorlovka in the Donetsk region. In 1966 he enrolled in a higher military pilots' school and served as an instructor pilot after graduation. He joined the cosmonaut training team in 1979.

From September 17 to November 21 in 1985 Volkov made a flight on the Soyuz T-14 spaceship together with Vladimir Vasyutin and Georgiy Grechko to the orbiting station Salyut-7 manned by Vladimir Dzhanibekov and Viktor Savinykh.

A partial crew rotation was carried out then for the first time: Dzhanibekov and Grechko returned to Earth, while Vasyutin, Savinykh and Volkov stayed on.

Volkov and his wife Anna, 38, who is a librarian, have two sons—Sergey, 15 and Dmitriy, 9.

Krikalev, 30, was born in Leningrad and graduated from a mechanics institute there. He took up aerobatics at the age of 19. In 1981 he joined a design office where he took part in testing new equipment, developing work methods and drawing up manuals for cosmonauts, and in ground control operations.

Krikalev, who studied at the cosmonaut training center in 1985-86, is not married.

Chretien, 50, was born in La Rochelle and enrolled in an air force school at Salon-de-Provence in 1959, finishing it in 1962. For the following seven years he served as a fighter pilot of the French Air Force.

In 1970-77 he was responsible for the program of testing for the Mirage F-1. In 1977 Chretien was appointed deputy commander of air defenses in southern France. Overall, he has logged 5,000 hours in the air.

From June 25 to July 2, 1982, he made his first space flight with Vladimir Dzhanibekov and Aleksandr Ivanchenkov on Soyuz T-6 to the Salyut-7 station. That mission lasted seven days and 22 hours.

From 1982 Chretien has been space flight chief at the French National Center for Space Studies (CNES). He is also leader of the test pilots for the Hermes spaceship in development in France.

His wife Amy is 26. Chretien has four sons—Jean-Baptiste, 26, Olivier, 23, Emmanuel, 22, and Francois, 14.

Soviet-French Space Cooperation Reviewed

LD2611182588 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—French scientists and experts are to participate in a major international project named 'Spectre-Roentgen-Gamma' and aimed at studying the universe's past and forecasting its future. The project is planned for 1993, a TASS correspondent was told at the Institute of Space Research at the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Past history of Soviet-French cooperation in peaceful exploration and uses of outer space is full of important developments. In 1966 the two countries signed an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in that field.

In 1986 Soviet unmanned interplanetary stations Vega-1 and Vega-2, in the framework of an international space project, passed near Halley's Comet at a distance of 10,000 kilometres from its nucleus. All the experiments using the Vega stations and, in particular, the experiments involving French participation made it possible to gather a vast body of scientific information. More specifically, photographs were taken of the comet's nucleus for the first time.

As part of the Phobos international programme, two Soviet unmanned interplanetary stations were launched in the direction of Mars last summer. The stations carry on-board equipment to study the planet, its satellite Phobos, the sun and the interplanetary space.

French participation in the project consists in the development of scientific equipment to study cosmic and solar gamma-ray bursts and take spectrometric measurements of the chemical composition of the Martian atmosphere and of the thin surface layer on Phobos.

The 1982 joint Soviet-French space mission became a truly historic event. The international crew made up of Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Dzhanibekov and Aleksandr Ivanchenov and the first French cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien working together with the crew of the Salyut-7 Soviet orbital station's main expedition, conducted a series of scientific experiments, in particular, in the medical field together with some astronomic experiments and the growing of cristals in space.

Today a 26-day Soviet-French expedition to the Mir Soviet orbiting station has been launched.